P. U. RES. BULL. (ARTS)

Vol. 20 1989 G. K. V. HARDWAR

079962

079962

ISSN 0970—5260

37

079962

Panjab University
RESEARCH BULLETIN

(Arts)

VOLUME XX NO. 1 APRIL 1989

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH BULLETIN (ARTS)

Volume XX, No. 1 April, 1989

Chief Editor
NIRMAL MUKERJI

PANJAB UNIVERSITY
CHANDIGARH

Subscription : Rs. 60.00/£ 6.00/U.S. $ 12.00 (Annual)
Rs. 30.00/£ 3.00/U.S. $ 6.00 (Single copy)

COPYRIGHT 1989 : PANJAB UNIVERSITY RESEARCH BULLETIN
(ARTS)

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Inquiries regarding reproduction in any manner, in whole or part, in English or any other language, may be addressed to the Chief Editor, Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts).

★ ★ ★ ★

The opinions expressed in the articles printed in this Journal do not necessarily represent the editorial views or policies of the Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts).

★ ★ ★ ★

CONTENTS

SECTION-I

Literature & Language

1. Lovelina Singh .. A Brief Conversation with Saul Bellow 3
2. Kamal N. Awasthi .. A Psychological Study of Bernard Malamud's *The Tenants* 7
3. Lovelina Singh .. Far from the Covenant : Philip Roth's Problematic Hero 19
4. Jaidev .. Realities from the Margins : A Deconstruction of *Mourning Becomes Electra* 25
5. Pankaj K. Singh .. The Non-Stop Connolly Show as a Political Play : Theme and Technique 33
6. Mina Surjit Singh .. Theodore Roethke's *North American Sequence* 43
7. Sunanda Mongia .. "Marital Hell" in the plays of O'Neill 57
8. S.S. Bhagat .. Sri Aurobindo's Projected Vision of Poetry 65
9. B.R. Nagpal .. Baldwin's Black Vision : The Beyond 75
10. Noor Khan .. The Arrival at Selfhood of the Wharton Woman : A Fresh Glance at *Ethan Frome* & *Summer* 81
11. Amrit Mehta .. Der Einflüß von C.G. Jung auf Hermann Hesse und seinen Held ab "Demian" 89
12. Gunita Randhawa .. Mouchette 101
13. Gyan Verma .. Listening Comprehension & Communicative Competence 105
14. D.D. Sharma .. Pronominalization in Tibeto Himalayan Languages 113
15. Satya Vrat .. A Note on Padmasundara and his Works 125

SECTION-II

History & Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology

16. G.C. Mohapatra .. *Obituary* Professor H.D. Sankalia 135
17. A.B. Mukerji .. On the Relevance of Sankalia to the Cultural Geography of India 141
18. Devendra Handa .. Studies in the Indus Script : A Reveiw 167
19. Mohinder Singh .. Terracottas Kushāṇa Art in Haryana 181
20. Jalaluddin Ahemad Khan Women Ascetics in Pre-Gupta India 189
21. N.S. Gorekar .. Father Heras : An Internationally Renowned Historian 195
22. J.K. Sharma .. Al-Bīrūnī on Hindu Idol-Worship 201
23. S.P. Sangar .. Soft Drinks in Mughal India 209
24. Ravindra Kumar Sharma Military System of the Jodhpur State C. 1556 to 1707 A.D. 223

SECTION-III

Views and Reviews

25. A.B. Mukerji .. Locational Analysis in Agricultural Geography by J.L. Raina. Pointer Publishers, Jaipur. 1989 pages 146 Bibliography, Index. Price : Rs. 145.00 241
26. Neena Arora .. *Plans for Departure,* Nayantara Sahgal, Heinamann : London, 1986 216 pp. £ 9.95 249

OUR CONTRIBUTORS 251

CONTENTS

SECTION-I

Literature & Language

1. Giles Mitchell .. Narcissism and Death : A Study of Angel Clare in Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* 3

2. Bhim S. Dahiya .. Life and Art in Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden* 17

3. Asha S. Kanwar .. F.R. Leavis, *Scrutiny* and 'The Great Tradition' 29

4. Alur Janaki Ram .. The Australian Novel and Asian Settings — An Interview with Chris Koch 43

5. Charu Verma .. Padma's Tragedy : A Feminist Deconstruction of *Midnight's Children* 59

6. Anil Bisht .. Larkin and Triple Time : The Least or Most Nostalgic of Poets ? 67

7. Kshamanidhi Mishra .. Sherwood's *The Petrified Forest* : An Exposure of the Wasteland - Vision of T.S. Eliot 81

8. Tutun Mukherjee .. The Chicago Critics and Films 93

9. Shrawan K. Sharma .. Hegelian Dialectic in Matthew Arnold's Elegies 101

10. Kailash S. Aggarwal .. Black English : A Different Approach 113

11. Rahul Khanna .. The EFL Textbook and the Social Context 121

12. Usha Bande .. *Baumgartner's Bombay* :— An Assessment 131

13. Amrit Mehta .. Post-War German Lyric and New Trends in the Eighties 135

14. Ashutosh Angiras .. काश्मीर शैवागम में प्रतिभा-दर्शन एवम् भारतीय काव्य शास्त्र 153

SECTION-II

History & Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology

15. Devendra Handa .. Relics of Art from Marhanwala 165

16. A.D. Malik .. Documents on George Thomas 171

17. Lalman .. Sculptural Remains from Burail (Chandigarh) 177

18. A.K. Sharma .. Shaikh Mubarak of Nagor (1505-1593 A.D.) 181

SECTION-III

Views and Reviews

19. Lille Madanjit .. *Indian Poetics* and *Western Thought* ed. M.S. Kushwaha, Agro Publishing House, Lucknow, 1988. 266 pp. 187

20. Baldev Singh Karir .. Jay K. Johnson & Carol A. Morrow, Eds. 1987. THE ORGANIZATION OF CORE TECHNOLOGY, Boulder and London : Westview Press, 380 pp. 191

OUR CONTRIBUTORS 195

A BRIEF CONVERSATION WITH SAUL BELLOW

Lovelina Singh

Solomon Bellow, born June 10, 1915 in a suburb of Montreal, was the youngest child of Russian immigrants. His parents brought him to Chicago when he was nine and he grew up to be Saul Bellow, the leading American novelist of his generation. Over the last four decades Bellow has reinforced the sense that he possesses a rare combination of artistic sensitivity, gift for language and genuine intellectuality.

The following informal discussion took place in November, 1988 at the University of Chicago. Excerpts :

Saul Bellow spoke about his current work : "I'm writing short novels. About a hundred pages each. One of them is coming out in March as a Penguin. It's coming out in paperback. It's called *A Theft.*"

"I very rarely work on two things at the same time but this time I put aside something I was writing in order to write something else and it became a third thing which I had to put aside in order to get back to the second thing. Now that is finished. I finished it last week."

Asked about the dominant concern in his artistry, Bellow replied : "My dominant concern is whether I'm excited. It's hardly any use to write a novel about which you are not very deeply excited. That is consideration number one. So it should not be something done because it happens to be your trade. Literature should have a human reason for being written. If I don't have that kind of excitement then I put the thing aside. I send it to the gut for burning.

"I work as often as I can. In between I don't do very much except read books. I'm sorry to say I don't socialize very much any longer, though I used to enjoy it once... I work in a small room. All my books have been written there or in Vermont where I have a house in the country."

To an observation that his novels are deeply concerned with the condition of the human spirit, Bellow said : "I really can't think of any important novel that does not to some extent deal with that, unless it is pure fantasy. Take a book like *The Green Mansions.* When you come to the end of the book it is just the green isle and the birds. That's okay but ... (Bellow broke off with a laugh). Novels are either historical or contemporary and even the historical ones deal with contemporary lives. So my special troubles are to reconcile spiritual questions with contemporary observations because contemporary observations may be hostile to this or contradictory at best. I'm afraid that I've written too many books in which the protagonist finds it difficult to lead a spiritual life independent of social considerations. He asks himself the essential question : 'What was it I ought to have been doing ?"

In his recent novels Bellow seems to be overcome by the profundity of the world's ills. A strong affirmation of life is attenuated and replaced by an apprehension for the future of humanity. The prevailing mood of *The Dean's December* is sombre and a little short of despair. His latest novel, *More Die of Heartbreak*, also does not recover the earlier mood of affirmation. To an observation that there is a darkening vision in his novels, Bellow said : "I would say there is. The estrangement of human beings from one another is a fact of life, no longer a hypothetical matter. We know much more about separateness, isolation, dislike than we care to admit. A surrender to desolation, however, is not acceptable to spirited people."

Asked if he infuses his fiction with commentary because he believes that literature must explain life and elevate the reader, Bellow remarked : "People today take their interpretations from psychologists, sociologists, economists and from journalists. The influence of literature is waning."

Bellow often turns a comic light on the protagonist struggling against angst. Moses Herzog for instance is a "suffering joker" caught in a state of comic but desperate madness. Talking of this, Bellow said : "I don't see why such a subject shouldn't be a source of high comedy. It is a pity that my readers sometimes miss the comedy."

Though a highly intellectual realist, Bellow also insists that too much intellection must be resisted : "Herzog is a comic portrait of the enfeeblement of the educated man. The learned Herzog is merely foolish and so Herzog looks for repose in what he was before he had accumulated that mass of learning."

Talking about his Jewish heritage, Bellow went on to say : "The Jews are peculiarly sensitive to what is said about them and perhaps they have a perfect right to an irritate sensibility but I'm not sure their touchiness is indistinguishable from that of other minorities."

Bellow evinced an interest in India. "I've read E.M. Forster and Kipling and so on and so on. So that's the extent of my knowledge of

India. It's all secondhand. Though I have thought what a wonderful idea it would be to go to Calcutta ... May be some winter I might be induced to take a trip to India if I could go slowly with many stops so that it didn't wear me out."

The only topic on which Bellow was not forthcoming was his portrayal of woman characters. He said testily, "I have no views on the subject — I see you are a feminist."

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF BERNARD MALAMUD'S *THE TENANTS*

Kamal N. Awasthi

If brotherhood is a major theme of *The Tenants,* certainly a minor theme is represented in the discussion on art. The conflict in the novel also is as a result of the interaction between these two. Willie believes in experience as the source-ground of creative writing while Harry Lesser, though subscribing to the view partially, has the training of a writer and likes to transmute experience through form, diction and language. In this article, I propose to prove Lesser's Warrior proclivities in relation to his book. The warrior concept is taken in the psychological sense and not in the sense of a hero literally fighting in a battle field. For the elucidation of the warrior concept and its amplification, recourse will be made to Jungian psychology. Viewed in Jungian archetypal terms, the hero exemplifies the power of the ego which directs itself to the accomplishment of certain goals and objectives important to the hero. The hero views these goals and objectives both in terms of personal satisfaction and fulfilment and also in terms of transpersonal contribution. With such an emphasis on the ego targetting at certain goals naturally both the inner and outer life have to be sharply reduced. To be specific in terms of inner life, to use Freudian terminology, the *id* is sacrificed at the altar of the ego-ideals or super ego. To speak in Jungian terms, the legitimate needs of the anima are sacrificed. Regarding the shadow which may clamour for expression and assimilation, the heroic ego invariably chooses to confront it with a view to overcoming or suppressing it so that its goal is not tampered with, so that energies being expanded for the attainment of the goal are not pulled off into non-goal related diversionary channels.

It is obvious that the goal of Harry Lesser's, the protagonist of the novel, is to finish his third novel 'The Promised End'. In the course of his struggle to finish the third novel, which is waiting its end, the demands on his consciousness are made by the shadow, Willie Spearmint and the anima, Irene. In the case of a warrior hero, the ego is centered and goal-oriented. In archetypal terms "the hero archetype is a principal form of ego expression; it expresses the focussing of personal will or power effort".[1] Such a hero fails to assimilate the other components of his psyche and thus remains fixated. Rather than becoming an integrated whole, a warrior by virtue of his goal-oriented psychology is centered in his personal predilections. Thus the goal gets into the pathology of such a hero. Carlos Castaneda during his anthropological investigations encountered a Mexican 'man of knowledge' and learnt about the characteristics of a warrior. He observes:

> Every warrior has ... a place of his predilection which is soaked with unforgettable memories where powerful events left their mark, a place where he has witnessed marvels, where secrets have been revealed to him, a place where he has stored his personal power .... Every warrior has a specific form, a specific posture of power, which he develops through his life. It is a sort of dance ... Death cannot overtake the warrior who is recounting the toil of his life for the last time until he has finished his dance.[2]

Death cannot overtake the warrior till he has finished his dance. Lesser, the warrior, is undefeated and undeterred even after his manuscript has been massacred by Willie Spearmint and his men. He demonstrates the indomitable and indefatigable spirit of a warrior when he says to himself: "Life is so fragile, fleeting. One thing about writing a book you keep death in place; idea is to keep on writing."[3] It has been said that *The Tenants* is "a wry fable of an artist's labour pains."[4] Yet the irony is that he is not willing to free himself even when the opportunity avails itself. In fact, we are dealing here with an artist who is in a *temenos* dissociating himself from the reality principle. The criticism on *The Tenants* is preponderantly biased to the racial issues in the novel. Unfortunately Lesser's relationship and concern with his book has been grossly neglected in the corpus of criticism. One might agree with the view that "The Tenants is ... a highly respectable attempt to define the spiritual conflict between black and white cultures without making over-specific reference to issues of social policy."[5] But the statement remains partial since it has also missed the essential core of the novel, Lesser's book.

For T.S. Eliot, "Home is where one starts from."[6] For Harry Lesser "Home is where my book is" (p.11), and "Home is where if you get there, you won't be murdered, if you are, it isn't home"(p.25). Unconsciously, Lesser feels that his libidinal energies are concentrated in this very place. Any transfer of residence, therefore, would mean a dislocation of the nerve-center of his libido. His predilection for his place ofstay,thus, can be explained in terms of the characteristics of a warrior. He has hesitations about movement from the familiar to the unfamiliar.

Psychologically, his obsessive-compulsive fixation to finish the book where it was conceived can be viewed as his desire to stay in the embryonic protection or the lap of the mother. It is the regression of his libido in a negative way. When he says that home is where his book is, it obviously means that his ego development has been fiercely obstructed by his identification with the ego-ideal. It will be profitable to examine Jung's observations on the negative aspects of regression:

> Regression carried to its logical conclusion means a linking back with the world of natural instincts, which in its formal or ideal aspect is a kind of *prima materia.* If this *prima materia* can be assimilated by the unconscious mind it will bring about a reactivation and reorganization of its contents. But if the conscious mind proves incapable of assimilating the new contents pouring in from the unconscious, then a dangerous situation arises in which they keep their original, chaotic, and archaic form and subsequently disrupt the unity of consciousness.[7]

Lesser's flat and his book can be taken as his surrogate mother for two reasons. Firstly, the theme of the novel is love about which he has only a conceptual and not experiential understanding. Secondly, his resistance to separate from his place shows cathexis of his childish longing for the mother. A warrior is a hero who is predominently concerned with his pride, hybris, and his personal history. It is a case of transference of libido to the mother. Historically also, warriors have been concerned primarily with their history, family, tribe, etc. All these aspects, viewed psychologically, are in the matrix of the mother. Seen thus, Lesser has the typical pathology of a warrior because he is beset with neurotic fears outside the threshold of his fort.

At ego consciousness level, Lesser has, of his own volition, withdrawn from anything external to his book. One can understand his resistance and insularity to his landlord Levenspiel's humanistic appeals to vacate the apartment. His ego strength and warrior modality have to be placed in the perspective of the material from the unconscious which becomes available to him in the persons of Willie Spearmint and Irene. Willie is a black writer who has just strayed into Lesser's neighbourhood for no other reason except to find some place and solitude for writing. Lesser measures the strength of the intruder soon after discovering him. He finds the typewriter of the black writer larger than the writer himself. He visualises his typewriter, pre-world War I vintage as "resembling a miniature fortress" (p.27). The imagery used by Malamud in the beginning to describe the first encounter between the two writers, besides being important in suggesting the history of hatred between the two races, also implies Lesser's fear of invasion on his place. The contrast between the two writers is also so stark as to demonstrate the nature of each writer. Here are Lesser's thoughts when Willie, his white girl Irene and other friends join for a party at Lesser's place:

> Here was something new of the stranger levitated out of the streets upto the floor where Lesser for months had lived alone, housemate now, fellow-writer, may be future friend ... Lesser thought how easily he shucks off the writing self, whereas he in his active mind, rarely stopped writing. (p.38)

Willie represents that aspect of Lesser's personality which he has suppressed for the sake of his ego-ideal. The black is a chthonic being primarily while the Jew is overconcerned with the sublime theme of love. Psychologically, therefore, Lesser-Willie relationship is best understood in the ego-shadow paradigm, dealing, however, with the ego-shadow implications of their relationship at length! It is imperative to see that "Willie is Harry's black dybbuk"[8] and represents the suppressed instinctuality of Lesser who in his logoic pursuits has retired into absolute *temenos* away from the existential reality outside. In the warrior context, his libido is not forward-moving. It has been rightly observed that '"the black writer [is] trying to free himself of the incubus of a tormented past by writing about a black writer trying to do the same thing; the white novelist writing a book about a novelist writing a book about the same problem that bothers Lesser himself : an incomplete humanity, an inability to love satisfactorily".[9] Form is a contrivance according to Willie. He is writing because he wants "green power" (p.13). The dialogue on the floating island gives the impression of an exchange between the initiate and the initiator, the neophyte and the expert. Lesser chastising the gross, mundane in Willie says:

> It's only money, Willie. What of remembrance in future time, a small immortality ? Consider the human condition and how soon gone ... Think of this sacred cathedral we're in, Willie, with lilting bonging iron bell. I mean this flower-massed, rose-clustered, floating island. I guess what I mean is what about art ? (p.42)

The black, however, feels that the Jew is not his writer-brother, but a domineering white "trying to steal [his] manhood" (p.43), or castrating his creativity. It is possible to anticipate here that Willie might abandon his writing as a sequel to his chaotic, unpredictable life. Lesser, however, we know has "worked since the ice age" (p.42) on his book. His character, therefore, has distinct flavours of a warrior viewed in terms of his book, the form of the book and the 'small immortality'.

There is an interplay of gestalt's topdog and underdog simultaneously in both of them. In Freudian psychology, the topdog would be the super ego. In gestalt however, topdog and underdog are two components present in the personality. "If a person tries to meet the topdog's demands of perfectionism, the result is a nervous break-down, or flight into insanity".[10] What is important is alchemical gestalt is to bring about a reconciliation of the split between the topdog and the underdog. If Harry Lesser has dedicated himself to actualise the concept of love into perfection, Willie seeks success and fame out of chaos. Thus both are complementary to each other. Lesser needs to self-actualise the conceptual reality of love, Willie requires conceptual boundaries to his chaotic, chthonic experiences.

Shadow is an archetype and is projected through another character whose strength and weakness is unacceptable to the ego. Viewing it realistically, one cannot help agreeing with Brita-Lindberg-Seyersted that in a Malamud novel or a story "the male protagonist's personality and destiny are often given depth and scope through the motif of the double; this is not exactly the Romantic *Doppelganger*, but rather two characters whose destinies are linked in various ways, sometimes in a (spiritual) father-son pattern".[11] Though Lesser resents intrusion, ironically he accepts and acknolwedges Willie as a fellow-writer. Shadow is the most accessible archetype to experience. Lesser's concern for a fellow-writer can be seen in terms of the irresistible pressures of the unconscious. "The shadow is the archetypal experience of the 'other fellow' who in his strangeness is always suspect. It is the archetypal urge for a scapegoat, for someone to blame and attack in order to vindicate oneself ... it is the archetypal experience of the enemy..."[12] This interaction of the two writers, therefore, is an interaction of the ego and shadow, a dialogue between the conscious personality and the contents of the unconscious.

Lesser lives in his own ivory tower; of ideas, of form, of art. Feeling-wise, he is inferior to the shadow Willie and hence his callous indifference to Levenspiel's mercy cries. He expects ideas, order and form to teach him feeling. In his opinion, Willie's experience lacks coherence and form : "You can't just turn black experience into literature by writing it down. If we're talking about art, form demands its rights, or there is no order and may be no meaning" (pp.60-61). Willie who represents chaotic consciousness, however, argues that "our feeling chemistry is different than yours" (p.60). Sociologically Lesser's pontification on form and art can be seen as superior racial pride. Psychologically it is the resisting, recalcitrant ego which refuses to acknowledge the richness of the feeling chemistry of the shadow. As a result of this dialogue between the ego and the shadow, there occurs a simultaneous and compensatory change in the attitude of both the writers. The black who has read the two published books of Lesser with admiration discovers in him a hermit. "You talk and you act like some priest or ... rabbi" (p.71). The monk-like existence of an established and superior writer irks the black inasmuch as he fails to understand Lesser's denial of 'nature'. In this ego-shadow relation and as shown in the context of topdog and underdog interaction, the contrast is apparent. The black is completely inundated with instinctuality, the white is in *temenos* unduly.

Lesser is still grappling with the shadow when another archetype, the anima is asserting on his consciousness at the same time. When Irene visits his flat, he tells her: "When you came into this house tonight, I felt this sense of something lost in the past" (p.45). Lesser's movement toward the anima has been via the shadow. In the intercourse between the two, both partake something of each other. Lesser admires Willie's social life, his parties, women, and attitudes. It is in fact Lesser's "confrontation of the insulated self with the *acher,* its repressed 'other'."[13] This mutual admiration causes a trade off in certain characteristics. The white writer begins to go out more socially, to have sexual relations with women, visit museums and restaurants. The black begins to entertain thoughts of the possible importance of the relation of form to art. Lesser, unlike Willie, reaches Irene unconsciously through his visions. In one such vision, he "beaches his battered raft" and finds a black woman dancing in her nude blackness. When he is sensuously aroused, a black crow "swoops between her legs and flies off with a puff of black wool"(p.62). This black crow here emblematises his suppressed instinctuality manifesting itself in a shadowy, aggressive way in the image of the crow.

Lesser is now moving forward for experiential exposure to understand the complexities of love about which he is writing. His quest for anima, however, is again cautious beause of his fragmentary, cluttered attitude towards his emotions. He is willing to sacrifice every emotion for his ego-ideal. In this view, it is important to read Lesser's thought while reflecting on his artist friend Khon's abandoned portrait of a woman:

> Lesser then vowed, as he often had, that he would never abandon this novel, never for whatever reason, nor would anybody good or bad, Levenspiel, Bill Spear, for instance or any woman, black or white, persuade him to give it up; or call the job done before he had completed it. He had no choice but to bring his book to its inevitable and projected end. (pp.88-89)

He is a typical specimen of the inflated ego because he considers his book in the perspective of the immortality of art and hence of universal significance. Such a state, Edward Edinger calls 'intellectual rigidity'. He observes: "Intellectual rigidity which attempts to equate its own private truth or opinion with universal truth is also inflation. It is the assumption of omniscience."[14] Lesser thus gets into the pathology of a warrior when he refuses to make a movement forward for an encounter with the unconscious and remains fixated on his inflation. His ego is unwilling to surrender anything which comes in the way of his ego-ideal. Though he has drifted away from his self-imposed cold, rigid discipline for a time, his ego consciousness remains over-charged and alert as a warrior lest he should succumb to any temptation distracting him from the book. He says to Irene: "I'd want to marry you after I finish my book" (p.109). Even when lying with her he "thinks of Bill Spear alone in the vast empty house, writing at his kitchen table" (p.110). This envious reflection can be construed as a psychosomatic tension in the personality of Lesser. Both the anima obligations and the ego drives demand attention at the same time. As a result, he can do justice to neither. In other words, he is in a state of neurosis because he cannot resolve the conflict between two opposing sides of the psyche. This conflict remains there despite the fact that he is gradually becoming aware of the psychopomp value of the anima. "Because of Irene he lived now with a feeling of more various possibilities, an optimum that boiled up imagination. Love's doing" (p.116). This 'love's doing' has to wait fruition. Irene makes a proposal to leave for San Francisco but Lesser repeats himself: "Sure, when I'm done" (p.119).

It is true that Lesser is not able to make an overt or direct commitment to the anima. But it is also true that his relationship with his shadow reaches a high point of hatred because of the anima. If he reads Willie's manuscript and finds it progressing well, the black might return to Irene. Thus his dilemma ! On the one hand he is increasingly getting conscious of the anima projections. On the other, he cannot prevaricate about Willie's manuscript for fear of insincerity to his own ideal of truth. Naturally, he soft-pedals his criticism. Meanwhile, he and Irene were thinking seriously how to disclose about their love to Willie. But Lesser's impetuosity brings the issue to a violent and tragic ending. The inevitable has happened; Lesser's apartment has been ransacked and his manuscript, both the copies, have been burnt. Malamud has described the destruction as a kind of ritual fire; the imagery is that of a crusade: "The war canoe touches the wet shore and three missionaries ... hop on to the sand and beach the long bark" (pp.133-34). The burning manuscript "stinks of human flesh" (p.135). The warrior has been robbed of both power and place. Though Lesser curses himself for having drawn his carbon copy from the bank recently the warrior-ego undaunted and undeterred, starts rewriting the book. The events from history come to his rescue as sympathetic and sustaining ideas: "Carlyle had had to rewrite his whole *French Revolution;* the manuscript accidentally burned in J.S. Mill's fireplace. T.E. Lawrence rewrote *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* after leaving his manuscript on a train" (p.137).

The preceding descriptive details pinpoint the actual behaviour of the two writers towards each other and the reality around them. The discussion also highlighted their obligations, priorities and psychic functioning. It will be fruitful to examine the complexity of their personalities psychologically in relation to the opportunities and alternatives available to them. It is difficult to disagree with Roderick Craib who observes that "*The Tenants* makes much of Harry's Jewishness and Willie's blackness, but these are details rather than central symbols."[15] Seen from a psychological angle, the novel deals with the pathology of two writers, irrespective of their colour, race and backgrounds. Both the writers are victims of ego inflation. While Lesser underwrites this inflation speaking only about the small immortality of art, Willie in a grandiose, pompous way arrogates ominscience to his black experiences. Ego inflation is a state of identification with the self, which is both the center and totality of being. The ego which cannot assimilate the positive shadow contents and listen to the anima signals fragments from the psyche and recedes in the *uroboric* state. Lesser needs to plunge more in the chaos of unconscious rather than subscribe to order, coherence and form. In a manner of speaking he needs to regress inasmuch as regression "makes possible an enrichment of consciousness, because it contains, though in an undifferentiated form, the seeds of a new psychic health."[16]

The above analysis shows two different personalities, both having compensatory relationship with each other. The focus has been mainly on psychological delineation of the characters. In addition, the two major characters, Lesser and Willie can also be examined in the perspective of general archetypes stipulated by Oswald Spengler.[17] Spengler discussed culture, civilisation and extraordinary individuals in terms of three basic archetypes: Apollonian, Faustian and Magian. Apollonian man emblematises developed consciousness, control and lays emphasis on the aesthetic aspect of life. In specific terms, in the Apollonian personality, intellect dominates the psyche and does not have the impregnating quality of the unconscious. Faustian man is totally immersed in the unconscious whose prime symbol is pure and limitless space - the world as such - the experience. Magian man symbolises grace, ethical guilt, remorse, repentance. Harry Lesser's devotion to his book, the form and the art can be categorised as Apollonian. Because of his over-concern for the external, ideal type, it is not possible for him to expand in dionysian space like Willie. The former is static while the latter symbolises energy, mobility and dynamism. Spengler's formulations are based on the basis of the origin and development of three different cultures, the classical, the western and the Egyptian. The classical man was concerned with tangible and visible, the western or Faustian man with the space, with the deed. The former is a state of *being*, the latter is *becoming*. Magian soul has essentially spiritual orientation and as such no ego or will of its own.

Lesser, the Apollonian, finds his book as the complete expression of its own way of being. Willie, the Faustian, is not centered like Lesser but expansive in spirit. He finds expression not in person or the empirical visible body as the Apollonian does, but in personality and character. His experiences reflect the ethnic personality and character of his race. The former's will to finish the book first and to consider or grant anything else later is thus the firm-footed hold of the classical figure of Apollo. The latter, however, is dionysian seething in the myriad experiences of his ethnicity. This categorisation of archetypes can be viewed as polarities which must be integrated for perfection in a race or a culture.

Viewed psychodynamically, Lesser is aperverse embodiment of the archetype of warrior. He is averse to the numerous mercy petitions of the Magian man, Levenspiel. He is not willing to sacrifice his fixated ego for the sake of his anima. San Francisco would have meant fresh woods and pastures new but "Lesser's book was conceived more than a decade ago, died a premature (temporary) death; and seeks rebirth. Lesser is a man of habit, order, steady disciplined work. Habit and order fill the pages one by one ... He is determined to finish his book where it was begun, created its history, still lives" (p.140). His libido did not flow forward to move into the possibilities of the future. Rather than achieving a new structure and a new coagulation through the experience imparted by the shadow and the anima, he hopes his writer-protagonist and his book to take him to the sublime depths of love. Instead of assimilating his own psychic contents, he "is engaged in this process of self-creation of his book."[18]

Lesser is also in the pathology of a warrior because he fails to maintain the ego-self axis which is so vital and important for a complete man. If he had succeeded in assimilating the chaos and Dionysian element of his shadow on the one hand, and the sensuality and romance from the anima on the other, without sacrificing his book, Harry Lesser would have ended up as a wise old man. Lesser could not get out of the pathology of a warrior obviously because of his ego inflation. In over-assuming the significance of his book and its theme, his ego has reached an extremity of inflation: "It is a state in which something small (the ego) has arrogated to itself the qualities of something larger (the Self) and hence is blown up beyond the limits of its proper size."[19] Viewed thus, Lesser is unable to achieve the ego-self axis which is the achievement of a wise old man. Robert Alter observes: "The running lore of the self or self unrepresentative of its spacial neurosis fills the canvas of the novel, blurring the delineation of racial relations within it."[20] This overconcern with the self, as Alter points out, is directing of the energies towards virtues that are a good deal more personal. Warrior, as has been amply demonstrated is the embodiment of a strictly personal core where personal predilections are of a paramount importance. Even after having been inundated with the psychic experience of shadow and anima, 'The Promised End' is as elusive as the epigraph to his novel from *King Lear : "Who is it who can tell me who I am ?"* (p.147). Precisely this is the pathology of a warrior who is so much enveloped in his ego consciousness that he refuses to be dicovered.

Malamud perhaps had no resolution to offer to the unconscious racial tensions. He found himself in a maze to break the wall between the two races and to forge a brotherhood. As a literary artist, however, at the fantasy level, he echoes a hope that "someday God will bring together Ishmael and Israel" (p.164). Lesser stays firm-footed disregarding the storms from the unconscious and the appeals for *rachmones* by the Magian man. Ironically, when the landlord starts covering the building doors with tin sheets, Lesser feels happy at being quarantined. He is retiring into *temenos* again.

Will it be too much to say that Malamud through his tri-dimensional approach-Apollonian, Faustian, Magian - is offering to the modern man an optimistic world to live in the future ? For Lesser, the book is not an ordinary novel. It is a struggle for form out of chaos. For him, the book is an accomplishment. It is his testament on love and this is the case of his pathology. Perhaps the message of the novel, as it were, lies in a synthesis of the Apollonian and Faustian through the Magian soul. As such "perhaps Malamud suggests there is hope for us."[21]

NOTES

1. Edward C. Whitmont, *The Symbolic Quest: Basic Concepts of Analytical Psychology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p.182.

2. Carlos Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan: The Lessons of Don Juan* (1972; pt. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 168-169.

3. Bernard Malamud, *The Tenants* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p.150. All subsequent page reference to this novel are from this edition and are incorporated hereafter in the text in parentheses.

4. *"The Tenants," Times Literary Supplement*, 24 March, 1971, p.325.

5. *Joseph Catinella, "The Tenants* by Bernard Malamud," *Saturday Review*, 25 September, 1971, p.325.

6. T.S. Eliot, "East Coker," *Four* Quartets (1943; rpt. London, Faber and Faber, 1979), p.31.

7. C.G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation,* Trans, R.F.C.Hull, Vol.V, 2nd ed. (1967; rpt. Princetor Princeton University Press, 1974), p.408.

8. Melvin Maddocks, "Life is Suffering But ..." *Atlantic*, 5 (November 1971), p.132.

9. John Alexander Allen, "The Promised End: Bernard Malamud's *The Tenants*," Hollins Critic, 8 (December 1971), p.4.

10. See Frederick S. Perls, *Gestalt Therapy Verbatim* (Utah: Real People Press, 1976), pp. 18-20. This reference has not to be confused with sociology. As components of personality, the topdog and underdog strive for control in a person. The person is thus fragmented into controller and controlled. This inner conflict, the struggle between the topdog and the underdog is never

complete because topdog as well as underdog fight for their lives. The topdog usually has perfectionist ideal impossible to achieve. The perfectionist is not in love with anything else except his ideal.

11. Brita-Lindberg-Seyersted, "A Reading of Malamud's *The Tenants," Journal of American Studies* (U.K.), 9 (April, 1975), p.85.

12. Edward C. Whitmont, p.162.

13. Morris Dickstein, "*The Tenants,*" *The New York Times Book Review,* 3 (October 1971), p.15.

14. Edward F. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype* (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc. 1974), p.15.

15. Roderick Craib, "*The Tenants,*" *Commonweal* 95 (December 1971), p. 309

16. Jolandi Jacobi, *The Psychology of C.G. Jung* (1942; rpt. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), p.58.

17. See Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* Abr.edn. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1961), p.111 ff.

18. Jacob Korg, "Ishmael & Israel," *Commentary, 53* (1972), p.84.

19. Edward F. Edinger, p.7.

20. Robert Alter, "Updike, Malamud and The Fire This Time," *Commentary,* 54:4 (1973), p.75.

21. Roderick Craib, p.311.

FAR FROM THE COVENANT : PHILIP ROTH'S PROBLEMATIC HERO

Lovelina Singh

Americanization and the effect of "cultural bleaching" is a major concern in Philip Roth's fiction. His heroes are far removed from their religious roots. Whereas David Schearl in Henry Roth's *Call it Sleep* went to cheder and studied Hebrew, for Alexander Portnoy in *Portnoy's Complaint* it is more important to learn shorthand. Even Yiddish has almost become a lost tongue for him. "Talk Yiddish?" he asks. "How ? I've got twenty-five words to my name — half of them dirty and the rest mispronounced."[1] Roth captures the sense of uncertainty that an unorthodox Jew might feel about his identity in a fascinating statement : "The circumstance of being born a Jew in America was a very special one in that it announced not only the specialness of being born, but a kind of extra-specialness, the specialness of having been a Jew or being a Jew. This, however, remained a mysterious thing : one didn't know exactly what it was and so one had to invent being a Jew."[2] In a similar vein, when Bruce Gold in Joseph Heller's novel *Good as Gold* asked to write a book about the Jewish experience, he wonders : "How can I write a book about the Jewish experience ... when I don't even know what it is. I haven't the faintest idea what to write."[3]

Does this mean that Jewishness has atrophied ? In *The Bourgeois Poet* by Karl Shapiro a Jewish character who insists that he is a Jew is asked : "Can't you forget it ? Isn't it obsolete ? Isn't it faking the evidence ?" Karl Shapiro believes otherwise. "Being a Jew," he says, "is the consciousness of being a Jew, and the Jewish identity, with or without religion."[4] He is convinced that the Jew cannot slough off this consciousness for "whatever he does, whatever he believes or professes to believe, whatever he accepts or rejects, he still remains a Jew."[5] This is the case with Roth's protagonists. Roth's subject is the self-conscious Jew, the Jew whose identity is a problem to himself and his self-ordering becomes the issue in novel after novel.

Alexander Portnoy is a heritage-rejecting Jew who inveighs against the older generation, "those narrow-minded schmucks", who continue "sucking and sucking on that sour grape of religion."

He declares himself weary of the Jewish tradition and cries out rebelliously, "I'd rather be a communist in Russia than a Jew in a synagogue anyday" (83). Religion is for Portnoy a constrictive force and he tries to cast it off but all his transgressions are shame-ridden and guilt-producing experiences. He cannot exorcize this sense of guilt no matter how hard he tries.

In the Zuckerman series there is a reiteration of this struggle with Jewishness. In *The Ghost Writer* Nathan Zuckerman is a young Jewish writer who is strongly attached to his parents but he can't share their relentless obsession with the status of the Jews. His basic difference to them comes sharply into focus when he writes a story that he innocently mails home expecting the usual admiration. To his surprise, his father is deeply wounded by the story. He believes that it is damaging to the Jews and that it confirms the anti-Semitic notion that Jews are only interested in money. He senses a lack of sympathy towards the Jews : "I wonder if you fully understand how very little love there is in the world for the Jewish people, I don't mean in Germany, either, under the Nazis. I mean in the run-of-the-mill Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Nice Guy, who otherwise you and I consider perfectly harmless. Nathan, it is there. I have seen it, I have felt if, even when they do not express it in so many words."[6] Nathan sees no truth in this but he is nagged by a sense of guilt at having hurt his father's sentiments. To makeup for it he imagines marrying Anne Frank and he pleads with her in his imagination : "Oh marry me Anne Frank, exonerate me before my outraged elders of this idiotic indictment ! Heedless of Jewish feeling ? Indifferent to Jewish survival ? British about their wellbeing ? Who dares to accuse of such unthinking crimes the husband of Anne Frank," (170). In the next two novels, *Zuckerman Unbound* and *The Anatomy Lesson*, Nathan finds himself further alienated from his people.

In *The Counterlife* Nathan Zuckerman visits Israel. Since his heritage teaches him that the Holy land is the navel of the world and all other places are Galut, living outside of Israel should be a crucial moment for the Jew. America, however, in Leslie Fiedler's phrase, is a "steam-heated, well-furnished Galut."[7] It is a measure of Zuckerman's Americanization that after travelling for three weeks in a Jewish homeland that seemed to be very remote, he concludes :

> I didn't need to live in a Jewish nation ... My landscape wasn't the Negev wilderness or the Galilean hills, or the coastal plan of ancient Philistia; it was industrial, immigrant America – Newark where I'd been raised, Chicago where I'd been educated, and New York where I was living in a basement

079962

> apartment on a Lower East Side street among poor Ukrainians and Puerto Ricans. My sacred text wasn't the Bible but novels translated from Russian, German and French into the language in which I was beginning to write and publish my own fiction – not the semantic range of classical Hebrew but the jumpy beat of American English was what excited me. [8]

Zuckerman insists that America simply did not boil down to Jew and Gentile. He feels that he is probably more secure in his homeland than his Israeli friends could ever be in theirs. When his brother Henry decides to stay on in Israel he is skeptical : "Is there really something irreducibly Jewish that he has discovered in his own bedrock, or has he only developed a taste for the ersatz in life?" (133). However, when Nathan marries a Christian and goes to England, he finds himself in a situation which "reactivates the strong sense of difference that had all but atrophied in New York." (370). His sister-in-law is anti-Semitic and she tells him that her mother dislikes Jews. Zuckerman also has a very unpleasant experience in a restaurant when he takes his wife out to celebrate her birthday. The blatantly anti-Semitic remarks of an English lady sitting at the next table make him think that she sees him as "A Jew defiling an English rose. A Jew putting on airs with a knife and a fork and a French menu. A Jew who is injurious to her country, her class and her sense of fitness." (336). Zuckerman believes that he has come upon "a deep insidious Establishment anti-Semitism" that is normally well-concealed and only shows up in an occasional misfit. Otherwise it is subliminal and there are no rampant signs of it. His wife can't understand why he feels "so touchy and strange and rejected." She tells him impatiently, "Go back to America, please, where everybody loves Jews — you think !" (350). Zuckerman observes that "usually it was the Semites, and not the anti-Semites, who assaulted me for being the Jew I was." (350). He is paradoxically, "A Jew among Gentiles and a Gentile among Jews."

In Roth's latest work *The Facts* there is once again the cultural tug-of-war between Jewishness and Americanness. Roth recaptures his childhood as the son of immigrants to whom "the biggest threat came from the Americans who opposed or resisted us – or condescended to us or rigorously excluded us – because we were Jews ... I was not unaware of the power to intimidate that emanated from the highest and lowest reaches of Gentile America." He refers to the corporate discrimination which prevented Jews from assuming positions of anything approaching importance. He also describes the gangs of lumpen kids who try and attack the Jewish children even though that is "a unique calamity" in the lower-middle-class neighbourhood. Roth discusses the deepening Americanness and movement away from the "antiquated, socially useless old-country mores and perceptions" (32) of his parents. He recalls how "Casually making friends over paper-bag lunches with Gentile classmate ... made me feel expansively 'American" (37). At Bucknell he joins the Jewish fraternity nicknamed Sammies. "But", he points out, "you didn't join the Jewish fraternity to eat kosher food any more than to observe the Sabbath, to study Torah, or to discuss Jewish questions of the day ..... The Jews were together because they were profoundly different but otherwise like everyone else." (49).

Roth's ambivalent characters dramatize the situation of being Jewish and American at the same time. They are in a state of ambiguity and agonizing self-appraisal because they do not "inherit a body of law and learning but rather a psychological shell without clear historical, cultural or moral substance."[9] Roth's protagonists are deracinated beings who scrape upon the residue of a rich Jewish culture. Yet by showing this erosion of values Roth is seeking a more meaningful way of life. Bonnie Lyons perceives that the struggle between Jewishness and Americanness is an effort to discover the living heart of value in the two traditions. "Where Roth sees Americanness degenerating into simple materialism and status-seeking – and Jewishness becoming gefilte fish, an ironic shrug, or worse a psychological tic – he writes with the anger of a believer, of a moralist who sees the possibility, indeed spiritual necessity, of something more, of what has been left behind."[10] Beneath the comic brio in Roth's novels is a desire for rectitude. Roth does not merely caricature and vulgarize Jewish religious and cultural institutions as he has been chastised for doing.

NOTES

1. Philip Roth, *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969; rpt. London : Corgi Books, 1971), p. 253. Subsequent references in text.
2. Joseph Heller, *Good as Gold* (New York : Simon and Schuster, 1979), p. 87.
3. "Second Dialogue in Israel," *Congresss Bi-Weekly*, Vol. 30, No. 12 (Sept. 16, 1963), p. 21.
4. Karl Shapiro, *The Bourgeois Poet* (New York, 1964), p 74.
5. Quoted by Charles Glicksberg, "A Jewish American Literature ?" *Southwest Review*" LIII, (Spring 1968), p. 199.
6. Philip Roth, *The Ghost Writer* (London : Jonathan Cape, 1979), pp. 92-93.
7. Philip Roth, *The Counterlife* (1986; rpt. New York : Penguin Books, 1988), p. 58. Subsequent references in text.

8. Philip Roth, *The Facts* (New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), p. 20. Subsequent references in text.

9. John N. McDaniel, *The Fiction of Philip Roth* (New Jersey : Haddonfield House, 1974), p. 74

10. Bonnie Lyons, "Bellow Malamud Roth and the American Jewish Genre – Alive and Well," *Modern Jewish Studies,* Annual III, 1979.

REALITIES FROM THE MARGINS : A DECONSTRUCTION OF *MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA*

Jaidev

At the heart of O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* roars a dark, neurotic whirlpool, and while it is quite legitimate to immerse oneself in his whirlpool for cathartic effects, another strategy would be to observe the play from the margins, as it were. The strategy involves a deliberate distanciation from the central figures and a closeness to the several sets of choric figures. The strategy of course suggests a resisting, recalcitrant reading, but such a reading, it will be shown in this essay, does illuminate many disturbing ideological realities about the play. *Mourning Becomes Electra* often stumbles down to the brink of self-reflexivity and self-subversion with or without O'Neill knowing it, and at such times it turns a curious text divided against itself. It is seen consciously interrogating and debunking the egoisms which it also extends, both directly and metaphorically, to the American myth of success through the twin images of trespass and appropriation. Ironically, though, at the same time, so overt and maniac is its manipulation for a centralized, formal order that it turns reflexive and invites the reader to apply the moral norms for judging trespasses and appropriations to the text's formal procedures as well. A resisting reader, by keeping to the margins, stands a better chance of observing the ideology of the play both on its politico-moral and its formal dimensions. From these 'readerly' margins, one is also better able to observe the humanity of the play's marginal figures who are "types of townfolk rather than individuals,"[1] or "a chorus of types representing the town as a human background for the drama of the Mannons" (p.129).

O'Neill's stage directions regarding the choric figures seem to imply that being types they are not as valuable or significant as the chief characters, and that they lack individuality. As a matter of fact, these characters belong to a cohesive, organic community in which individualism is not a value but individuality is never missing. The point is important because O'Neill's choric characters are different from those of the Greek playwrights precisely in respect of individuality. We have, for example, a wife naturally sharing her knowledge of all those sexual nightmares that characterize the Mannon past. She is functional all right, but her distinct personality stands out all the same. Later, the chantyman not only claims a status and individuality for himself but offers a very telling and ironic reaction to Ezra Mannon's supposed heart failure: "Heart failure killed him, [the newspaper] said, but I know better! I've sailed on Mannon hookers an' been worked t' death and gotten swill for grub, an' I know he didn't have no heart in him! Open him up an' you'd find a dried turnip." Before this Sherlock Holmes-cum-prophet finishes, he leaves a dynamite of a suggestion which adds another perspective to Adam Brant's romantic revenge enterprise: "The old skinflint must have left a pile o' money. Who gets it, I wonder? Leave a widder, did he?" (p.106). To top it all, he advises Adam to avoid women for they bring trouble, and then stumbles away singing "Hanging Johnny" with its ominous refrain of 'hanging for money'. A functional character, he is nevertheless granted an authenticity and autonomy all his own. He is a marginal figure, but his drunken words have much wisdom: he knows the Mannons' mammonism involves exploitation of the workers who work to death and get swill for grub; he knows the Mannons have no heart in them; and finally he unwittingly stumbles upon a possible mercenary motive behind Adam's seemingly romantic quest. Whether it is the chantyman or the ghost-scared black servant, a gossip-loving wife or a henpecked husband, these marginal figures offer a healthy, human contrast to the sickly, ghostly protagonists.

Several things about these 'human background' characters give them a particular moral importance. First, their commonsense is Gramscian. They do not realize how wise they instinctively are. They trespass in the Mannons' house, but even so they are not touched by the Mannons or their disease. Seth is an exception because he is partially contaminated, but still he retains life and humanity mainly because he is not cut off from the organic community outside the house of death. It is no accident that mostly he is seen outside the house. The second thing relates to these characters' Dionysian spirit of joy. They live; their language lives. Seth drinks both on the Unionist victory and Lincoln's assassination. The top-level politics is a pretext for celebrating, no matter whether it calls for joy or sadness. History, through them, is seen from below, and seen thus it is an altogether different matter than when seen from above. Their commitment is to the eternal rhythm of life. Thirdly, they are untouched by the dreams of success and power, and this is why they are healthy. If one could scratch irony away from Dion Anthony's "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit graves!"[2] One could promise them graves instead of the hell that awaits the acquisitive and ambitious such as Captain Bartlett in *Gold.* They shall inherit graves, but they possess heart. Christopher Bigsby has referred to the "loss of an organic relationship with the natural world, with fellow men and with oneself"[3] as the source of alienation in the modern American plays. In *Mourning Becomes Electra,* the marginal figures are the only unalienated figures, and they are unalienated because they establish connexions both with the natural world and fellow beings. The protagonists' alienation is absolute indeed. The marginal figures are like Hardy's Wessex rustics and their humanity is never in question. In the "Haunted" choral scene, Mackel's judgement is very demystifying, very sane: "Wal, all I say is if they hadn't been Mannons with the town licking their boots, there'd have been queer doin's come out." Seth gets angry, committed as he is, like Conrad's Marlow vis-a-vis Kurtz, to the Mannons' reputation; but Silva, the Portugese fishing captain, stops their fight : "No fighting allowed" (p.133). From below, as it were, another contrast is being offered to the cold, deadly battles enacted in the house. Blessed are the meek for they have nothing worth fighting for. The Mannons, by contrast, are exclusive and arrogant and they fight like curs. In short, the marginal figures are intensely real, individual beings, and not only do they have hearts, O'Neill's heart and language warm up for them. Their openness, spontaneity and contingency are a refreshing contrast to the solipsist, spidery ghosts that are the Mannons. These marginal figures trespass, but part of their trespassing is happily beyond their choric, typical function and into living reality and humanity. One must not be condescending towards them; they are the only real people in the play.

The marginal figures are not always marginal in O'Neill, as is clear from *The Iceman Cometh.* However, they invariably suggest a very different O'Neill from the one who manufactures the alienated, acquisitive beings. The tone towards Captain Bartlett, as he declares his willingness to "go to hell"[4] for gold or towards Nina's possessiveness ("My three men! . . .they dissolve in me, their life is my life"[5]) or towards "the Yankee bluff"[6] of Brutus Jones is as telling as the imagery of pigs and sows, used despairingly by Kublai Khan and Kukachin for Marco ("Here! Guzzle! Grunt! Wallow for our amusement"[7]), hilariously by Hogan for 'fine ambitious America-born pigs [which] don't miss any opportunities,"[8] and more bitterly and universally for the greedy, acquisitive society by Con Melody and Larry Slade through their lamentful contrasts of sow's ears and silk purses.[9] Sow's ear is the stuff of which are made O'Neill's Marco Polos, Browns, and Mannons, the able and successful ones. Abe

Mannon's success is based on fraud, Ezra Mannon's on exploitation and injustice, which have their source in sexual envy. The myth is in operation here, but it should be noted that extra efforts are made by O'Neill to accommodate his debunking of the American dream.

It is exciting to read the Freudian drama of sexual trespasses and sexual gains and appropriations by simply converting the sexual motifs into economic-capitalist ones. A deliberate misprison, it is nevertheless not an illegitimate exercise, since the connexion between sexual failure and worldly success is straight and direct in the play. Abe's case has already been mentioned. Here is Ezra's confession : "That's why the shipping wasn't enough—why I became a judge and a mayor and such vain truck, and why folks in town look on me as so able! Ha! Able for what ? Not for what I wanted most in life ! Not for your love ! No ! Able only to keep my mind from thinking of what I'd lost !" (p.55). It is, of course, perverse to suggest that there can be anything like a sexual explanation for American capitalism; but what is surprisingly accurate is the identicalness of sexual scheming and economic manipulations in the world of *Mourning Becomes Electra.* Men are apt to deflect their failed sexual dreams into the economic zone, but women deflect their failed dreams onto other objects of sexual trespass. True perhaps to the spirit of Aeschylus and Euripides but mainly to the author's own private fears, women are more manly here than men; they are more fearful too, because while men's materialist dreams leave women alone, women's dreams are woven of men. In any case, to each their versions of the American dream ! The logics of both versions are identical, and so are the strategies and operations. Unfair play, deceit, scheming, bitching, blackmailing, hard, cynical bargaining, kisses as investment, and horrifying encroachment and appropriations, and other power games—all figure as components of the feminine capitalist game. That this game is familial and involves one's near and dear ones makes it the more chilling. Two spots in the play (Acts 3 and 4 in "Homecoming" and Act 2 of "The Haunted") reveal the horror of the acquisitive game. The motifs of trespass and appropriation extend in "The Haunted" scene to the behaviour, colours and personalities which are the late parents but are now appropriated by the late living children Lavinia has appropriated the late mother's shape, colours, clothes and indeed her face; and Orin has become more and more of Ezra Mannon. His comment on Lavinia's behaviour is revealing : he accuses her of allowing her soul to become like Mother's "as if you were stealing hers—as if her death had set you free—to become her !" (p. 141). A little later, Orin explains quite unnecessarily : "Can't you see I'm now in Father's place and you're Mother" (p. 155). Lavinia's retort : "You'd think, to hear you, I had no life of my own !" is not merely rhetorical but suggests an ironic possibility. Since Mother has no life of her own, her soul is free for appropriation by the living one. Those who have will have more. Those who can will still even the dead. The ultimate horror of appropriation occurs when the most intiamte exchanges between the parents in the privacy of their bedroom in the "Homecoming" scenes are appropriated by Lavinia and Orin unconsciously and preternaturally. Ezra Mannon's climactic "You - you whore - I'll kill you !" (p. 61) now becomes Orin's sentence (p. 155) in "The Haunted." Nothing is so private or sacred that it canot be appropriated. Nor is it any relief to concentrate on Lavinia's final depressing realization as in her "The dead are too strong !" (p. 177). For, if the dead are seen appropriating the living ones, there occurs no change either in the ideology or its logic; only, the play gains in horror by sounding vampirish. In any case, there is no sanction for such a phenomenon in any of the three Greek Electra plays. O'Neill justified it in terms of structural rhythm and "unreal realism."[10] But the implications of such repetitions are not just damning for an acquisitive ethics but very depressing for the integrity of human personality.

The depressing thing about one character appropriating another is its human price. In appropriating or annexing another's personality traits or soul, one reduces that person to a commodity transferable, violable, expendable. Whether Lavinia appropriates Christine or vice versa, the logic is the commodity logic. In diminishing another, one necessarily diminishes oneself just as much. This is where the capitalist logic breaks down in the case of human beings. Lavinia's trespasses and appropriations compromise the integrity both of Christine and herself. The winner takes nothing. The stage directions regarding the choric figures seem to deny them individuality and thus claim that the chief characters are individuals. This is false. For all the Strindbergian-expressionistic precedents, one thing the Mannons never acquire is individuality or personality. A few poignant moments, a few dramatic and melodramatic gestures or deeds - except for these, they are mere variations on a soulless, all-devouring lust for possessions which promises gains, illegitimate gains, but entails loss of soul. The entire characterization of the protagonists is managed not in terms of humanist, compassionate belief in their personality or reality but in terms of a conceptual structure whose shades are worked out mechanically for characters at different points. The conceptual structure is less Greek, more Freudian, but mostly cliched. In the Greek playwrights, the reality of the protagonists is never disputable, because that reality is earned by an *a priori* humanizing of society, times, politics, even the gods and goddesses. Humanism is central to them. In O'Neill, society, history, the Civil War, the system are all postulated but eventually they are sucked in by the conceptual structure of egoism. Humanism is in short supply both in these characters and their conception. It would seem that conceptual structures reinforce the form at the expense of characterization. The repetitions, parallels, duplications, etc. generate a high degree of formal tension, but formal virtuosity is a poor substitute for the humanity of characters. Without a warm humanity enveloping, cherishing the central characters, a tragedy turns "neo-barbaric, decadent."[11]

Whatever the merit of O'Neill's interpretation of the American acquisitive ideology, the most awkward thing about this interpretation is its contradictions. At the moral level, he debunks it, but at the formal level, he appears to be only too enamoured of it. It is like kicking at dirt and then finding one's superior shoes dirtied. *Mourning Becomes Electra*, at the self-reflexive level, trespasses more and more into myths, cultures, texts for appropriating them and this is why so much energy is expended on keeping the formal centre viable. The House of the Mannons is an apt, if simplified, metaphor for the play's form and formal ideology. At its heart is a moral void; and its effect is pastiche, composed as it is of incompatible, incongruous elements. The house flaunts its Greek connexions, but these are acquisitions, forced and 'added', not justified by the surroundings on which (therefore) even the white pillars cast symbolic black shadows. Repetitions, rhythms, and patterning are all strategies of centralising and control in the text, while myth, Freud, the paganism vs. puritanism polarity, and intertextuality are signs of formal Macro Poloism. The exercise is impressive, but it is also 'precious' and exhibitionistic. Part of the effect is catchy. Can't you see the use of Aeschylus here and Euripides there ? Don't you know "A coward hiding behind a woman's skirts" comes from Sophocles ? Don't you see how I have netted in the Greeks, Shakespeare, Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, Melville, Hawthorne, Ibsen, Shaw, and, of course, Freud, the new God ? Congratulations are expected. The catch is believed to bring much prestige. The catch is an embarrassment, a pastiche collection arranged schizophrenically, incongruously, heartlessly. As its heart is a void, too, the void of conceptual structure. The humanity of the

Greeks or Shakespeare or Freud is dispensed with, their situations or echoes are arranged as prestigious fetishes. Of course, there is nothing wrong about the desire to use the past literature by a new writer, but appropriations or interpretations of myths and other texts should not impair their humanity. *Odysseus*' humanity is not diminished by *Ulysses;* rather, it is enhanced. But then that is surely because Joyce never falls short of humanity or compassion himself. O'Neill's appropriations are unfair to the past. Euripides, it would be remembered, practises so many radical subversions on the earlier texts; he even mocks away their reliance on footprints or locks of hair. But the humanity of neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles is compromised in Euripides because he has enough of its himself. The American dream which O'Neill debunks so ferociously for its trespasses and appropriations does not leave him as uncontaminated as his righteous tone would suggest. Contradictions inform O'Neill as much as the dream.

It is a grace that the marginal figures in *Mourning Becomes Electra* escape being mere functions. It is a grace that they preserve their contingency, autonomy and humanity. They remain real human beings, remain characters of love. With them O'Neill is intensely human and free from contradictions.

REFERENCES

1. *Mourning Becomes Electra,* ryt. in *The plays of Eugene O'Neill* (New York : Random House, n.d.), pp. 6-7. All subsequent references are to this edition.
2. *The Great God Brown,* rpt. in O'Neill, *Nine Plays,* ed. Joseph Wood Crutch (New York : Modern Library, 1941). p. 324.
3. A *Critical Introduction to Twentieth-Century American Drama.* Vol. 1 (1910-1940), quoted in Charles A. Carpenter, "American Drama : A Bibliographical Essay," *American Studies International,* Vol. 21 (October 1983), 15.
4. *Gold,* rpt. in *The Plays of Eugene O'Neill,* p. 651.
5. *Strange Interlude,* rpt. in *Nine Plays,* p. 617.
6. *The Emperor Jones, Ibid.,* p. 9.
7. *Marco Millions,* rpt. in *The Plays,* p. 419.
8. *A Moon for the Misbegotten,* rpt. in *Best American Plays,* 4th Series, ed. John Gassner (New York : Crown, 1958), p. 147.
9. See *A Touch of the Poet,* rpt. in *Best American Plays,* 5th Series, ed. John Gassner (New York : Crown 1963), p. 34; and *The Iceman Cometh* (London : Cape, 1966), p. 32.

10. See Travis Bogard. *Contours in Time : The Plays of Eugene O'Neill* (New York. O.U.P., 1972), pp. 338-39.

11. Eric Bentley, "Trying to Like O'Neill," *In Search of Theatre* (1952), rpt. in John Henry Raleigh, ed., *Twentieth Century Interpretations of 'The Iceman Cometh'* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 49 A similar, though less angry, reading is Raymond Williams'. *Modern Tragedy* (London : Chatto & Windus, 1966), p. 119.

THE NON-STOP CONNOLLY SHOW AS A POLITICAL PLAY : THEME AND TECHNIQUE

Pankaj K. Singh

Early in his career John Arden had wished his play *The Workhouse Donkey* (1963) "to have lasted, say, six or seven or thirteen hours ... and for the audience to come and go throughout the performance, assisted perhaps by a printed synopsis of the play" so that the play could live up to the name of "vital theatre."[1] This desire was materialised twelve years later in 1975, with the performance of *The Non-Stop Connolly Show* which lasted more then twenty-four hours.

John Arden had always been a socially committed dramatist but in the seventies his social concern takes a definite Marxist turn. Incidentally this is also the time of active collaboration of his Irish wife, Margaretta D'Arcy, and the subject matter also derives from Irish situations or personalities. Though the echoes of Marxism can be heard even in earlier plays, the first unambiguous statement of a communist stand came with *The Ballygombeen Bequest* (1972), and *The Non-Stop Connolly Show* marks the culmination of the authors' Marxist stance as also of their dramatic experiments.

Arden and D'Arcy had already set their mind upon the figure of James Connolly : *The Ballygombeen Bequest* is introduced by an epigraph from the words of James Connolly that "a belief in the capitalist system of society" is one of the "slave birthmarks" of Irish Society and the murdered hero of the play, Padraic, is identified with Connolly.[2] In 1975 came their longest and unique dramatic experiment, *The Non-Stop Connolly Show*—an enormous play conceived on an epic scale with its almost non-stop presentation lasting more than twenty-four hours, celebrating the struggle and execution of the Irish Socialist hero James Connolly.

The cycle of six plays was first produced on Easter 1975—beginning on Easter Saturday noon and continuing until 2.30 p.m. on Easter Sunday—in commemoration of the Easter 1916 rising when Connolly was shot dead, and the venue of production was Liberty Hall—the place significantly related with Connolly's activities (and those of the Socialist Pary in Ireland), since this was "the original 'Workers' Bastille where the General Strike of 1913 was organised, where the Citizen Army was administered, whence

Connolly marched out to the Post Office on Easter Monday 1916."[3] In fact, as the authors inform us, the production was made possible by the support of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and the Official Sinn Fein Party, i.e., by a great trade union and by a Republican political party. The plays fall in the category of political theatre written and presented by the authors as "an assistance and inspiration to the activity of Socialists both now and in the future" *(PP,* p. 94). But like Brecht they know that "the didactic element must be married with enjoyment"[4] and as such they present their political ideology in the form of a cycle of plays full of theatrical excitement. The toil of Connolly throughout his life in promoting socialist ideals and fighting the powerful demon of capitalism is conceived on a traditionally heroic scale and is presented as a kind of a big theatrical festival, as a sort of a "giant 'Pop festival' for the Left" *(PP,* p. 118)— with a long night of plays, films etc.

The cycle begins with brief scenes of Connolly's childhood when he is made conscious by his father and his uncle McBride that he is above all a labourer and an Irishman, and his foremost duty is towards the labour class and Ireland. The next five plays in the cycle give an account of Connolly's socialist activities, beginning as a branch secretary of the Scottish Socialist Party, moving to Ireland as a paid socialist organiser, founding the Irish Socialist Republican Party, taking out his newspaper *The Workers' Republic* in the face of all odds, lecturing, touring, collecting funds for the party, fighting local elections and losing, resigning on account of organisational differences, then leaving for America, his association and conflict with the American Socialist Party, his constant active participation in the cause of exploited workers, his association with National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labour Party in America, his constant conflict with and opposition to De Leon's policies, his disillusionment with the American socialist movements and return to Ireland where the socialist movement has gained some momentum under the leadership of James Larkin who has founded Irish Transport Workers' Union, his activities at Belfast to organise workers in various protests and strikes to improve their state, leading finally to the great lock-out followed by the strike of twenty-five thousand Dublin workers, his attempts to provide for the starving families of the workers on strike, and then his response to the World War which practically causes a collapse of international socialist movement in all countries, Connolly's attempt to save it from collapse in the Easter Uprising which he sees as the only way left to bring about an Irish Republic. The focus equally remains on the coercive, monstrous opposition from the establishment and other representatives of the capitalist demon that Connolly keeps fighting all along with full courage and determination. In the vast panoramic scene of Connolly's socio-political life brief scenes of his personal emotional life, involving his wife Lillie and his children, flash across the canvas, but these too illustrate the significant role that his personal relationships play in boosting his social career.

The texture of the play is thick with a profusion of action and character and diversity of scene. The thematic web is made complex with Connolly's two-fold crusade — one against the "Proud demon" (Part I, p. 1) of capitalism and the other against "the man-eating lion of Britain" (Part I, p. 3). The double perspective of capitalist-proletariat conflict, and the Irish-British conflict which was conceived on a domestic scale in *The Ballygombeen Bequest* is now dramatised on an epic scale. Though the scenes are set mainly in Scotland, Ireland, and America, these being the places of Connolly's action, repeated references to the activities of the socialists in France, Germany and Russia give a world-view of the socialist movement. Simultaneous with the depiction of the socialist movement is the detailed (but excellently put in short, crisp scenes of witty exchanges) delineation of different aspects of Irish-British relations — Ireland's attitude to Britain regarding the Boer War, Coercion Act, the question of independence of Ireland, in particular the attitude of various political parties in Britain and Ireland to the Home Rule Bill and the resultant threat of civil war in Ireland among different factions such as loyalists of Ulster, socialists and nationalists, leading up to the abortive Easter Rising of 1916 where the Citizen Army of the Irish Socialist Party under the leadership of Connolly joins hands with the National Volunteers to free Ireland from British dominion.

In this complex political-ideological perspective a lot of action keeps going on. Agitations, protests, strikes, clashes of the police and the crowds, scheming manipulations, exploitation and coercion by the capitalist class in collaboration with the police, the Parliament and the administrators largely fill the scenes.

The abundance of material and action, which could result in a thick muddle of tedious politico-economic ideological details in the hands of a lesser playwright, has been superbly handled by the dramatists, and the thick texture of the play has been given a lucid structure and the whole has been presented as an event of huge theatrical excitement. To the complex material of their subject the authors have given a broad simplistic structure based on one basic conflict, the capitalist vs labour, which provides a framework for the total action. Within this framework other conflicts take place but with repeated reference to the main conflict which forms a sort of 'moral' of the story. The authors' own views regarding the "essential conflict of the fable" are significant to note. According to them the struggle between :

> Capital and Labour ... in itself could time and again be summarised as the Fight between Revolution and Reform —an archetypal *agon* for the dramatist, comparable to such emblematic battles as *Carnival v. Lent, Sacred v. Profane Love, Idleness v. Industry etcetera. Capital v. Labour* is the overall context for the secondary conflicts, and becomes the war between *Evil and Good* or *Darkness and Light* or *Winter and Summer.* (*PP*, p. 98).

In his fight against capitalism Connolly has constantly to fight reform which is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class to distract people away from revolution. Even the Labour Party, from whom Connolly expects support but does not always get it, often speaks for reform: "Now don't let's try to run until we can learn to walk ... " (Part 3, p. 4). But Connolly declares from his lecture-stage: "I warn you it is more than stones will be fired at you to keep you out of it — they'll throw *loaves !* You don't eat them ... throw them back !" (Part 3, p. 67). The basic conflict, present in different forms, always means a freedom from coercion, whether on the capitalist-labour front or the British-Irish front. The repetition of the conflict in different parts gives a lucidity and a focus to the proliferating material of the plays and imparts a kind of "complex clarity" (Part 3, p. 65) to the dramatic cycle.

To impart lucidity and to sharpen the focus the characters too are repeated from one part of the cycle to the other. Moreover, as in morality plays and later in satiric comedies like Ben Jonson's characters used to be one-sided, in these plays on Connolly also the characters are largely stock types based on their social roles such as employers, workers, agitators, policemen, Mayors, civil servants, Admirals, MPs, PM and so on. Grabitall, a character Arden and D'Arcy have taken from a cartoon of a socialist paper in America (*PP*, p. 109), stands there from the beginning to the end as the type of the Capitalist all over the world. Though his name keeps on changing with the change of country yet his mask and his role are always the same — as the antagonist to James Connolly. The World War is characterised in the person of War Demon wearing an emblematic mask. Similarly the voices of Oppressed Nations and

Controlling Nations are represented by emblematically dressed actors who just utter their point of view and retire from the stage.

A "deliberately repetitive structure," (*PP*, p. 126) that makes use of parallel situations and repetitive themes, situations, characters and actions also contributes to the clarity of the Connolly plays. Apart from the basic conflict incidents like the formation of trade Unions, workers' strikes and the employers' and establishments' collaborative schemes to throttle the agitating voices, keep on recurring in play after play. In visual terms also crowds upsurging, the police chasing them, clashes, cheering, singing, dancing, booing go on the same in each part of the cycle. The same characters appear again and again in each part of the cycle repeating their fixed roles with only a slight change in names, e.g. Mr. Hook and Mr. Crook, the employers of the first part, later appear as McHook and McCrook, and then as Hookey and Crookey, and Grabitall keeps on hovering over the scene in the same threatening, tyrannical way, whether as Pierpoint Morgan or Murphy or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland or an English Lord living in Westminster.

The course of Connolly's actions and decisions also follows a repetitive pattern. For example, soon after having worked actively at one place Connolly feels "my music must be made elsewhere" (Part 3, p. 58), and almost every part of the cycle ends with Connolly deciding to leave for a new world to preach his socialist philosophy. His mental state repeatedly floats on the tide and ebb of enthusiasm and pessimism. One day he says "I don't believe I shall ever be tired again" (Part 3, p. 13), but the very next day a day's labour in digging pipes leaves him deep in despair (Part 3, p. 14); he leaves for America in great enthusiasm believing "De Leon is the key to the Dublin Castle Lock" (Part 3, p. 77) but gets disillusioned immediately on landing in America; again riding a wave of optimism and confidence he leaves for New York on a paid appointment as Organiser of the Industrial Workers of the World (Part 4, pp. 58-59) but this time too optimism is followed by despair and pessimism as slump hits America and five million go out of work and Connolly finds himself utterly helpless to do anything; he leaves for Ireland in great hope and enthusiasm but again becomes desperate with the failure of 1913 Dublin strike.

The motif of betrayal is set early in the play (with Connolly's uncle McBride telling him how the 1867 rising failed because of betrayal) and is repeated a number of times, during the cycie, leading up to the final cry of "Betrayed again betrayed again betrayed again ... !" (Part 6, p. 91) referring to the betrayal which caused the undoing of the 1916 Easter Rising. Even in individual scenes, words and actions are so repeated that the presentation is given a game-like music-hall quality, for example, in the eviction scene (Part I, pp. 20-21), in the violation of prohibition of speech in Dundee (Part 2, p. 33), and in Connolly's seeking a job but getting negative answers (Part 3, p. 103). This repetitive structure on various levels of this dramatic cycle of politico-economic ideologies and complex, subtle, sophisticated arguments imparts the cycle the complexion of a ritual or a music-hall performance.

In Connolly's crusade his wife Lillie plays a significant role and in a true sense functions as his "love and life,"[5] standing by him in all public events in the beginning of his career, and then all her life providing for the family by taking up washing, mending etc., working hard late at nights to keep her husband free from all responsibilities of the family so that he could fight his battle with full force and concentration. In fact Connolly's first articles on socialism is made possible by Lillie, his ideas though, yet her words (Part 2, pp. 45-48). When she hears of the plan of the Easter Rising she is proud of her husband and she would have loved to be with him at that moment, but she is braver; she restrains herself and stays back becuase "someone must survive and tell his children what he did" (Part 6, p. 93). Connolly's children are no less proud of him, and Nora, the eldest daughter, plays as vital a role in his life as her mother, not only in providing for the family at a very young age but by actively participating in various union activities and often standing as a support to her father. The brief scenes involving Lillie and Nora serve as a foil to the complex political arguments and impart an emotional quality to the otherwise intellectually conceived socio-political dramatisation.

Connolly, the man of unfailing energy and enthusiasm, undaunted in defeat, full of hope, brave, bold and defiant, dies in the end, after a life of thankless toil, shot dead by a firing squad. Once again, as usual in Arden's other plays, the conclusion of the cycle seems to give a dismal picture of society, with a revolutionary's efforts coming to a fruitless end. However, once again in a catastrophic ending the message of hope rings out unambiguously. By his fearless act, Connolly showed the way to future revolutions executed with success, most immediately the one in Russia in 1917 just a year after Connolly's abortive attempt to bring about a socialist society. Certainly the future events proved (the authors' belief) that the failure of one revolution is the springboard of success for the next one. The message rings out loud and clear in the concluding speech of Connolly, as he is shot dead :

> We were the first to roll away the stone
> From the leprous wall of the whitened tomb
> We were the first to show the dark deep hole within
> Could be thrown open to the living sun.
> We were the first to feel their loaded gun
> That would prevent us doing it any more —
> Or so they hoped. We were the first.

We shall not be the last. (Part 6, p. 106, emphasis added) Despite Connolly's death, the principles of socialism that he stood for, struggled for, continue to live for ever.

Technically the plays on Connolly mark the culmination of the various techniques of presentation used by the authors in their earlier plays with considerable success. The plays build on the "non-naturalistic formality of staging" *(PP,* p. 111) characteristic of Arden's early plays as well, with narrators on the stage narrating the action and ironically commenting on it. Though 'Narrator' as a character appears only in Part 5, in other parts various characters act as narrators or ironic commentators and a large part of the presentation follows the pattern of narration-action sequence in a Brechtian manner. The whole approach to the presentation is "emblematic" rather than naturalistic and the authors have devised a sort of "political *commedia dell'arte" (PP,* p. 109) for the dramatic cycle of Connolly's life, using stock masks for recurrent social types. Following Brecht again, "Lantern slides appear" illustrating "scenes of famine and emigration" (Part 3, p. 21), and the context and atmosphere of each scene of action is suggested by emblematic backdrops rather than realistic scenery.

The panoramic socio-political drama is given the form of a racy, vigorous, exuberant play full of hubbub and action, argument and excitement. The action and debates are presented in the charateristic Ardenesque way through an intellectual perspective by using various distancing techniques (such as type names for characters, use of masks, presence of Narrators) drawn from the tradition of comedy and from Brecht. Each scene emerges as "a self-contained combination of voice, movement, colour and music, with precise dramatic momentum of its own, which makes its points as sharply as possible" (Preface, p. vii) but which also contributes to the total effect of the big theatrical event.

Spectacle, which is so important in comedy, plays a particularly significant role in this epic presentation. When the emblematic election scene (Part 2, Scene 14) is presented "as a tag-wrestling match" with Grabitall acting as the refree, the crucial political issues are given a game-like quality, while at the same time the serious point comes through with added force. Similarly the underhand power-bargains made by politicians and employers are suggested in the amusing "swap-round of hats" between Grabitall, the Employers and Keir Hardie (Part 3, p. 49). Another significant political event is powerfully but comically suggested through a visual image on the stage. At the beginning of the World War the socialists of different countries are seen propping each other up with the French leaning on the Germans and the British on the French, and then during the war each one of them hurries out, leaving those depending on their support to collapse one after the other (Part 6, pp. 40-41); a catastrophic event in the socialist movement is thus seen as a comic collapse in terms of stage presentation.

However, essentially what gives the whole cycle a comic, exuberant quality is its *speed*—speed which was basic to the comic effect of the exuberant satiric comedies of such great masters as Aristophanes and Ben Jonson and which had been essential to the delightful, comic effect of Arden's own plays. Short scenes with brisk arguments and racy action follow one after the other in quick succession. The action involves speedy rhythms, e.g. the workers work "very hard to a fast rhythm clapped by the employers" (Part 3, p. 3), and later workers are seen "building furiously" in America and, having finished the work, they "disperse exuberantly" (Part 4, p. 1).

As usual in Arden the whole cycle is to be accompanied by music not only in the case of songs but as a general "background" and as "a punctuation to stage-movement and points of spoken argument" (*PP*, p. 130). Among the various bold and sharp colours on the stage the colour that shines out most strikingly and almost consistently from beginning to end is red colour, the colour of Marxism; red-coloured socialist backdrops, banners etc., fill the background most of the time.

The remarkable achievement of the playwrights lies in making a twenty-four hour long political drama a huge theatrical experience. Such a lengthy play on political arguments and implications with comparatively less dramatic, sensational movements could have easily been reduced to a tedious documentary. But the authors' dramatic talent has made it into a sort of festive experience, a carnival with a political message. Scenes of prose discussions are deftly sandwiched between emotional scenes written in verse, and rather long scenes of political debate are finely cushioned between scenes of loud cheering, singing, clapping and dancing. Even though the politico-economic discussions are basic to the cycle one gets the impression of a lot happening on the stage with the crowds marching in protest and shouting slogans, the police chasing them and fighting them all around in the hall, groups clashing, excitement, confusion, hubbub, uproar, cheering, booing, bands playing, drums sounding, scenes ending in chorus with characters dancing together. It is not only that community action goes on among the characters the audience is also given a sense of participation in the ritual by making the action happen all around them, by characters whispering rumours to the audience and chief characters often addressing the audience directly.

Such dramatic presentations lasting more than twenty-four hours are surely very difficult to put forth and the authors may not be able to enjoy widespread applause since only rarely can such huge performances become possible. Still, in the printed form itself the plays are an ample evidence of the author's excellent command over dramatic form and presentation.

NOTES

1. John Arden, Author's Preface to *The Workhouse Donkey* (London : Eyre Methuen, 1964), p. 8.

2. Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy, *The Ballygombeen Bequest : An Anglo-Irish Melodrama* (1972) *Scripts* (New York), 9 (Sept. 1972), pp. 5, 48.

3. Arden and D'Arcy, "A Socialist Hero on the Stage" (1977), rpt. in Arden, *To Present the Pretence : Essays on the Theatre and Its Public* (London : Eyre Methuen, 1977), p. 122. Subsequent references to this essay have been incorporated in the text and the page numbers are preceded by "*PP*".

4. D'Arcy and Arden, *The Non-Stop Connolly Show : A Dramatic Cycle of Continuous Struggle in Six Parts,* in 5 vols. (London : Pluto Press, 1977-78), Part 2, p. 53. All subsequent references to the play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text.

5. Cf. Arden, *Serjeant Musgrave's Dance* (London : Methuen, 1960), p. 50.

THEODORE ROETHKE'S *NORTH AMERICAN SEQUENCE*

Mina Surjit Singh

North American Sequence[1] is Roethke's most complete definition of his journey out of the self. The poems, a summation of Roethke's poetic journey, restate most of the concerns and techniques of the meditation poems, but these show a general progressive movement towards a greater integration of the poet's personality. The scheme of the sequence embraces not only isolated moments of grief and ecstacy, but a whole lifetime. Beginning from the vantage point of middle age, Roethke pushes the temporal limits of his exploration back first to his youth, and finally to his childhood, only to return to a present beatifically transformed.

In "Night Journey", an earlier poem, the poet had set out on a train journey heading westward, "To see the land I love". It is very appropriate then that this long and tiring journey should find its destination in the beloved, unexplored virgin land of his birth, the North American landscape, from Southern New Hampshire (Oyster River) through Saginaw, the place of his birth, to Seattle.

The six poems of the sequence, follow the same patterned, backward and forward pendulum sway of the previous volumes, reaching, however, a greater advancement than that reached thus far. The poet's conviction in self-reliance and solitude is carried over into this volume as well. *North American Sequence* begins with his rejection of the superfluities of American civilization, a prototype of almost any modern day civilization with its warped value systems, and his nostalgic identification with the land gives the sequence an added dimension.

"The Longing", true to the pattern of intensifying mystical experience, begins on a note of spiritual vacuum and emptiness in "A kingdom of stinks and sighs" where the pilgrim has to bear the "Agony of crucifixion on barstools". "Lust fatigues the soul", and the soul longs to "transcend this sensual emptiness" that impedes the forward movement of the spirit which "shrinks into a half-life, less than itself". He knows that the initiating point for spiritual progress is a divestiture of the cardinal sin of "pride", the "plume upon" the head of the wretched. Having learnt this rudimentary principle, the poet, in such " a bleak time", longs for "that felicity... A body with the motion of a soul". At this moment, the solution lies not in moving beyond the body, not in seeing it as "sensual emptiness", but in bringing it into harmony with the gracefulness of the soul. He gropes for the "dark dream", out of which :

> The light cries out, and I am there to hear—
> I'd be beyond; I'd be beyond the moon,
> Bare as a bud, and naked as a worm.

He longs for those "nothings" from which "All beginnings come". And, "these nothings" could very well be a reference to the spiritual emptiness of the previous section, which prompts this exploration and as such is resurrective in itself.

At this stage of his journey, the poet is convinced that the course he has adopted is the only way out of the meaningless life of exasperation that he witnesses in the excrescenes of civilization around him. Tormented by physical and moral degredation, the lonely pilgrim seeking salvation, turns away hermit-like, into the wilderness for solace :

> I would with the fish, the blackening salmon,
> and the mad lemmings,
> The children dancing, the flowers widening.

There is no fear but a faith in the pain he has to court in his isolation. "Pain....indicates a profound disharmony between the sense-world and the human self. If it is to be vanquished, either the disharmony must be resolved by a deliberate and careful adjustment of the self to the world of sense, or, that self must turn from the sense-world to some other with which it is in tune."[2] This is the principle Roethke has learnt and accepted. Pain becomes for him a way to redemption. He would "believe in his pain" in his desire for :

> ....the imperishable quiet at the heart of form;
> ....
> Where shadow can change into flame,
> And the dark be forgotten.

It is the perceiving eye that alters his inner and outer landscape, resulting in a fortified faith in his intuition which draws him away from this life of death and decay into the virgin American wilderness.

Although the old tension between body and spirit still persists :

> I would be a stream, winding between great
> striated rocks in late summer;

A leaf, I would love the leaves, delighting in
the redolent disorder of this mortal life.

there seems now, no panic or desperation but a calm expression of desire for synthesis. His spiritual pursuits, however, do not completely obscure his love for his mortal life, and he still wrestles with this duality. The significant change lies in a faith that an enduring resolution will be arrived at. He sets forth on his journey of exploration, identifies at the very outset with the original inhabitants of the North American landscape and seeks the abiding solace of woods, mountains, rivers and tides. "The Indian remains for Roethke the symbolic figure of the wise primitive, the man who is—as Roethke himself wished to be—one with Nature"[3]

Old men should be explorers ?
I'll be an Indian.
Ogalala ?
Iroquois.

Roethke's obvious preference for the Iroquois of the lakes to the Ogalala of the plains, suggests that water will be his way hence forth. In fact water throughout Roethke's poetry has symbolised movement and formlessness, flux and flow, making it an appropriate vehicle for beginning his journey. Staples maintains that the "associations of earth for Roethke are largelypejorative : in one form or another these geological images come to stand for origins (which must be transcended), stability (which, however, may be a dangerous condition, with overtones of stasis), and death (represented by ugliness, rubble, clay and so on, signifying the preoccupations with the senses and the unredeemed past). Water, on the other hand, has the opposite associations – goals (represented by the flowing of the river), flux (process, growth and metamorphosis), and life (physical abundance; esthetic delight)"[4]. If the poems of *North American Sequence* are examined in the light of Staples's contention one does observe, that these poems alternate between water-dominated and land-dominated pieces which correspond quite significantly to the pilgrim's advances and set-backs respectively. There is one small point, however, that comes to mind at this juncture. The condition of stasis, contrary to Staples's viewpoint, is to my mind, conducive and not pejorative to spiritual advancement. It is during this state that the protagonist assimilates, contemplates and observes intensely, before bursting upon a different/new perception of reality. Mystics have always insisted that, stillness, suspension, "is the condition of man's purest and most direct apprehension of reality : that he experiences in quiet the truest and deepest activity".[5] In that sense, the earth images in-so-far as they represent stasis, would also contribute towards advancement. Otherwise, it is in the water-dominated poems, that more progress is made.

"Meditation at Oyster River" begins, in contrast to the agitation of the preceding poem, on a calm, passive note with the protagonist meditating at the edge of the river. His concentrated thoughts allow no extraneous sounds "from the bay" to percolate down to his ruminations which dwell on the spirit, watchful of the first signs of an awakening. The setting is New Hampshire Coast where the Oyster river empties out into the Atlantic, an ideal spot filled with the "Unperishable quiet" that the poet seeks :

> No sound from the bay. No violence.
> Even the gulls quiet on the far rocks.
> Silent, in the deepening light.

He experiences a deep sense of harmony with the serene nature around him. It is significant to note here that the poet is immersed deep in thought at the point where river meets sea, implying thereby a meeting of the finite (symbolised by the ending river), and the infinite (symbolised by the expansive sea). Body and soul seem gathered together in this deep sense of harmony.

Though all nature seems harmoniously blended and everything external is propitious for the wished-for trance, an unexpected vision of beatitude, the poet himself seems inhibited ("a dead tree in the rivermouth"), and unprepared to share fully in this condition of blessedness. Self-conscious thoughts of his own identity and mortality encroach upon his calm, impeding his complete sense of communion. His identification with the natural order is as yet partial, and he envies the birds their characteristic insouciance to reality.

> The self persists like a dying star,
> In sleep, afraid. Death's face rises afresh,
> Among the shy beasts, the deer at the salt-lick
> The doe with its sloped shoulders
>   loping across the highway,
> The young snake, poised in green leaves,
>   waiting for its fly,
> The hummingbird, whirring from quince-blossom
>   to morning-glory—
> With these I would be.

He longs for release from the sensual self, to be with the water (which we observe, has come to symbolise his spirit) and "the waves coming forward, without cessation". This partial identification, however, does result in his "flesh" taking on, "the pure poise of the spirit", even though "for a time". In this state of equilibrium the poet is able to engage himself in a retrospective meditation, which takes him back into his childhood, the memory of which is evoked by the trembling "Michigan brook" (the Tittebawasee river), which runs through his home district of Saginaw :

> Its spray holding a double rain-bow
> in early morning,
> Small enough to be taken in, embraced,
> by two arms, —

He views this joyous participation of the child in nature from a more mature, adult perspective now, and realises how limited and eclipsed was the child's vision of reality. As a child he was oblivious of the river's contamination with the "welter" of dead, unwanted refuse clogging its free passage. His adult vision is more comprehensive in its recognition of both the sparkle and contamination of the river. A conclusive advancement, considering that anxiety here is suspended not through an infantile dependence on childhood nostalgia but a rejection of that partial vision. The innocence of childhood he still craves for but it is the more comprehensive vision of the adult that sustains. Another point of significance here is the fact that the poet has once again been lulled into a serene sense of harmony by focussing his attention on water :

> Now, in this waning of light,
> I rock with the motion of morning;
> In the cradle of all that is,
> I'm lulled into half-sleep
> By the lapping of water,
> Cries of the sandpiper.
> Water's my will, and my way.

He sees his "spirit" running intermittently, "In and out of waves" with "intrepid shorebirds" which seem so "graceful" even in the face of "danger". In the preceding poem, his desire was to be "beyond the moon", Roethke's symbol for transcendental reality, but the waning moon, paring "itself so thin", only served as a reminder of the ensuing darkness, then. Here in this poem, the reappearance of the moon in its waxing phase, indicates both the spiritual advancement that the poet has made, as well as the promise of greater enlightenment.

In the first of the moon,
All's a scattering,
A shining.

"Journey to the Interior" again a land-dominated piece begins, as the title suggests, with the poet undertaking recurring journeys, "many detours" into his past, apparently an exploration of the unconscious. The poet acknowledges that these long journeys "out of the self" are never free from the terrors and nightmares such undertakings entail with the protagonist balancing precariously over the edge of a ubiquitous ravine. We are introduced here to the automobile, a double metaphor suggestive of an unwilled (auto) propelling (mobile) towards the deep dark ravines of the unconscious as well as a vehicle of protection. The journey out of the self entails grave danger and risk, but since the premium here seems to be on safety, the very purpose of the journey which is the annihilation not preservation of the self, stands defeated. But his secure journey soon ends in a road block, "a fallen fir-tree", which wakens him to the realisation that this journey was being undertaken for the wrong purpose. Like the "dead tree in the rivermouth" (Cp, p. 190), the "fallen fir-tree" too, signifies the suspension of the spirit's progress, and the poet's consequent agony.

In the second section, he draws from youthful memories to indicate the hazards on the way. The passage is marked by a near-manic frenzy, with wheels whining "beyond eighty", the vehicle pressed full throttle, "spitting and roaring". Viewed from an adult perspective one gathers that the poet now understands both the selfish thrill of such reckless driving, as well as juvenile capriciousness and apathy, wherein care and caution are blissfully sacrificed to youthful unstaidness :

And the dust lay thick on my eye-lids—
    who ever wore goggles ?–
Always a sharp turn to the left
    past a barn close to the roadside,
To a scurry of small dogs and a shriek
    of children.

This immature, frenetic activity, however, gradually merges with the more sedate, lulling drive that the mellowed man is now making through the Saginaw Valley. His lonely sojourn is seemingly overshadowed by a dream-like awareness of death :

And all flows past—
The cemetery with two scrubby trees in
    the middle of the prairie,

> The dead snakes and muskrats, the turtles
> gasping in the rubble,
> The spikey purple bushes in the winding
> dry creek bed—

but alongside is the realisation that in spite of this presence of death and decay, the rhythms of nature maintain their characteristic insouciance to the phenomenon, so they remain in motion while the poet's movement is arrested by his apprehension of annihilation. This affects another dream-like alteration in his perspective, whereby he regains his lost sense of communion :

> I rise and fall, and time folds
> Into a long moment;
> And I hear the lichen speak,
> And the ivy advance with its white lizard feet—
> On the shimmering road,
> On the dusty detour.

The point of focus here is that although this journey into the past has assisted him in gaining further insight, he feels that the dusty road he has taken remains a detour and must not be relied upon too heavily, as such. This marks an implied avoidance, as far as possible, of such journeys in future, and a minimal dependence on memory. It is quite true that such examination and rejection of the past to escape from the pressures of reality does affect a return to a transitory state of tranquility, but this is not the poet's ultimate aim. He wishes to be released from this oscillation and is aware that this perpetual dependence on memory is not the via media to an enduring state of calm. The sooner he learns to face reality without fear and props, the more enduring and expansive will his vision of it be.

The next section witnesses the poet in an in between time again, "moving, unmoving" after an awareness that necessitates his acceptance of the inevitability of his death. The spirit now is not static, but seems suspended before another forward lunge.

> The soul at a still-stand,
> At ease after rocking the flesh to sleep.

"Stasis and motion become the same thing", just as "contemplation is that movement into the self that ultimately leads out of the self".[6] The poet has experienced moments of illumination, thought deeply about death and "rehearsed" himself for, "the stand at the stretch in the face of death". Through a dynamic integration arrived at by reconciliation and transcendence of temporal and spatial limitations, the poet comes to a mystic's intuitive perception of death as a union with the Absolute :—

> And I roam elsewhere, my body thinking,
> Turning towards the other side of light,
> In a tower of wind, a tree idling in air,
> Beyond my own echo,
> Neither forward nor backward,
> Unperplexed, in a place leading nowhere,
> As a blind man, lifting a curtain, knows
> it is morning,
> I know this change :
> On one side of silence there is no smile;
> But when I breathe with the birds,
> The spirit of wrath becomes the spirit of
> blessing —
> And the dead begin from their dark to
> sing in my sleep.

Painful self-knowledge is thus counter-balanced with this profound insight into the meaning of his existence. Death, when apprehended as regenerative, is accepted as divine benediction and with a measure of neutrality.

"The Long Waters", true to the by-now familiar Roethkean mode of alternating mental states, begins on the expected note of self-doubt, ensuing from the sense of union experienced in the previous poem. The duality which has been integral to his quest thus far, still persists. He begins to wonder in all humility, whether his pursuit of an enduring vision of undifferentiated unity, "where light is stone", might not indeed be a "foolishness with God", which is illusory. He returns from the land of "rolling mists" to the land of reality, weary of these oscillations between illusion and actuality. There seems now a note of near-resignation, a sense of defeat, a suspension of purpose and a lack of will to continue. These repeated probings and return to self doubt tire him.

The return to earthly life, however, renews his misgivings of physical decay and human responsibility. His desperate appeal to the goddess of wisdom Mnetha, is one for release from his selfhood with its attendant ills. He begs to be delivered from the dualism of life; from the dichotomy between body and spirit, intellect and intuition, mortality and immortality, the world of actuality and world of illusion, form and formlessness, which he has not been able to resolve yet. One great redeeming factor, however, is that he has experienced repeatedly, moments of spiritual expansion and has the knowledge implicit in such rare moments of communion. His appeals as such, are not born out of despair any longer but a longing for the more enduring peace which accompanies complete loss of self. The poet knows darkness and danger to be a prerequisite to illumination acknowledging fully well that the death of pleasure is a slow and painful process.

> How slowly pleasure dies; —
> The dry bloom splitting in the wrinkled vale,
> The first snow of the year in the dark fir,
> Feeling, I still delight in my last fall.

The following section witnesses him again as the lost son, hunting along the river for some clue to existence. By returning to contemplation of water induced by the beautiful seascape, as he did at Oyster River, he moves towards illumination. "The waves in the sun, remind me of flowers", he says and one can sense the approaching light that accompanies the roses and chrysanthemums in his father's greenhouse and the "never receding", "flower of all water", of the previous poem.

> I see in the advancing and retreating waters
> The shape that came from my sleep, weeping :
> The eternal one, the child, the swaying
>   vine branch,
> The numinous ring around the opening flower,
> The friend that runs before me on the
>   windy headlands,
> Neither voice nor vision.

Having lost himself completely to the other once again, he becomes "another thing". Such complete loss of identity is accompanied by the desired sense of expansion, "beyond the farthest bloom of the waves".

> I lose and find myself in the long water :
> I am gathered together once more;
> I embrace the world.

It is significant to mention here that the poet's vision of blessedness at the end of this water piece, is more intense than any experienced so far. He has sensed the eternal one, of which, child, branch, flower, the whole of creation, is a part. He has accepted death as a form of renewal just as he knows that losing himself paradoxically leads to self-discovery. Body and soul, merge harmoniously in a vision of beatitude, indicating that the voyager has arrived at a safe destination. Also significant to mention is "the poet's increasing awareness of the change, both inside his mind and in the corresponding landscape, though this time the change is not induced by a journey backward through time."[7] And since he has not felt the need for dependence on memory, his vision now is more enduring.

"The Far Field", assesses the poet's spiritual journey thus far, and is also a summation of all his previous concerns. His vision of the Absolute has lent him an equanimity which enables him to view retrospectively, the frustrations and impediments encountered on his spiritual journey. At the out-set the protagonist states that he dreams "of journeys repeatedly". The statement, however, is free from panic or agitation, which has been substituted by the placidity of divine revelation. He realises that mystical insight though not intransient, does occur repeatedly leading successively to higher levels of spiritual attainment. His greatest apprehension, of mortality having been conquered, his other fears are automatically ironed out. A memory from childhood teaches him, "An old man with his feet before the fire/In robes of green, in garments of adieu", to accept mortality with the child's instinctive acceptance of death. The wheel has thus turned full circle. He has been able to recapture the lost sense of childhood innocence, not by returing to his childhood, but by carrying forward that childhood, innocence into his adult world. He sees the eternal in :

> ... the shrunken face of a dead rat,
> eaten by rain and ground-beetles
> ...
> And the tom-cat, caught near the pheasant-run,
> Its entrails strewn over the half-grown flowers,
> Blasted to death by the night watchman.

He is now able to accept his origins and kinship with the mindless creation around him without repugnance, "bless them and be blessed in turn,"so as "not to fear infinity". Gone are the oscillations of a fearful mind. The poet has "come to a still but not deep centre", where life's dualism seems arrested, "In a country half-land, half-water." "He is renewed" by the "death" of his self-hood, as well as "thought" of his approaching "death", for in his present state of self-lessness the "Always" that he yearns for "is near at hand" "in earth and air".

> A man faced with his own immensity
> Wakes all the waves, all their loose wandering
> fire

> The murmur of the absolute, the why
> Of being born fails on his naked ears.
> His spirit moves like monumental wind
> That gentles on a sunny blue plateau.
> He is the end of things, the final man.

He is no longer a man "learning to sing" but is the final man who has experienced communion with the infinite, through the finite world of birds and animals. The poem opens on a note of serenity gained through mystical insight, and ends through a series of intense moments, on one of enduring faith. There seems no contrast or wild fluctuation of movement but a gradual and smooth shift to an all-inclusive sense of unity, "The pure serene of memory in one man", which prepares us for the final piece of the sequence. Talking about this feeling of unity, Roethke says :

> ... the "oneness", is, of course, the first stage in mystical illumination, an experience many men have had, and still have : the sense that all is one and one is all. This is invariably accompanied by loss of the "I", the purely human ego, to another centre, a sense of the absurdity of death, a return to a state of innocency.[8]

We observe that Roethke has already arrived at these various stages of mystical insight. What follows then is a quietude, a joy that culminates in one of the most beautiful poems of the sequence, "The Rose".

A recurrent image of wholeness and possibility in his poems, the rose first appears in "The Longing" where it is present but beyond the reach of the poet. Now it comes to symbolise the fulfilment of the desire to reach "the imperishable quiet at the heart of form". The concluding poem of the sequence, "The Rose" is a poem of joyous realisation at the completion of his journey. The poem begins :

> There are those to whom place is unimportant,
> But this place, where sea and fresh water meet,
> Is important—

Since the outer landscape, as we have seen, is a symbolic representation of the poet's mind, it is important for the poet to describe the place where his spirit has finally merged with the vast ocean of the Ultimate. The poet observes in the growing darkness, the slow rhythmic motions of creation. The whole of creation seems to be caught in a slow upward sway, reflecting his quietude and joy. While in "Meditation At Oyster River" the silence echoed the poet's sense of isolation, the silence the poet now encounters seems integral to the environs and is accepted along with the sound of the lapping waves and birdcalls. Sound and silence are both experienced now as part of the same reality. In this atmosphere of serene harmony, the poet sways outside himself :

> Into the darkening currents,
> Into the small spillage of driftwood,
> The waters swirling past the tiny headlands.
> Was it here I wore a crown of birds for a moment,
> While on a far point of the rocks
> The light heightened,
> And below, in a mist out of nowhere,
> The first rain gathered ?

The rain analogy of divine blessing extended to divine revelation, accounts for the sense of tranquility and mergence the poet now experiences. Earth and water, the two conflicting elements throughout the sequence, are now brought together as parts of the same unified whole. Body and spirit thus sway together in the rhythmic motions of the cosmic dance :

> As when a ship sails with a light wind—
> The waves less than the ripples made by rising
>   fish
> ...
> Our motion continues.

Throughout the sequence, the protagonist's journeys have been marked by danger and anxiety, but he has now reached a point when his journey is wholly graceful and "he can draw upon mastered experience without needing to renew the cycle of agitation"[9].

And through this tranquil acceptance of reality emerges the image of the rose, "the flower of all water, above and below me, the never receding," (CP, p. 194). This rose, rooted in the soil, yet swaying in the sea-wind, Roethke's symbol at once of permanence and flux, then blends together all contraries into one wholly unified vision of harmony and peace wherein he reconstructs a memory from childhood when he was in communion with his father :

> And I think of roses, roses,
> White and red, in the wide six-hundred-foot
>   greenhouses,

> And my father standing astride the cement benches
> Lifting me high over the four-foot stems, the
> Mrs. Russells, and his own elaborate hybrids,
> And how those flower heads seemed to flow toward
> me, to beckon me, only a child, out of myself.

As a natural consequence of the association of the rose with the father, the palpable flower is projected onto an abstract plane, just as the father who tended those flowers is projected into the heavens. Rose and father mingle to represent ultimate reality. Rooted in the earth, yet symbolic of the eternal, the rose becomes Roethke's most powerful symbol of wholeness and unity. The past and the present are now unified in one harmonious whole, signifying the close of his journey :

> What need for heaven, then,
> With that man, and those roses ?

The rose releases him from physical inadequacy and spiritual despair and fills him with a sense of well-being and joy.

The following section, a Wordsworthian contemplation of "American Sounds in...silence", unravels those intensely particular sights and sounds of the North American landscape, that have led him to :

> that sound, that single sound,
> When the mind remembers all,
> And gently the light enters the sleeping soul,

assuring him that his "desire" for completion is as "beautiful" as the medium he has chosen to realise it. It would be tempting to interpret "desire" as a double metaphor, relating to both soul and body. Now that the body has been metamorphosed and brought into harmony with the soul, it seems as beautiful as the soul within. On this analogy, the body becomes synonymous with nature too and hence something to be treasured as a mark of virtue.

The rest of the poem is a celebration of that epiphanic moment in which his senses have fused into that single, ineffable act of perception, through which he has come upon the "true ease" of himself near :

> This rose, this rose in the sea-wind,
> Rooted in stone, keeping the whole light,
> Gathering to itself sound and silence—
> Mine and the Sea-wind's.

The journey out of the self has been accomplished, the quest for "oneness" fulfilled and the mystical moment of joyous realisation experienced.

REFERENCES

1. All references to Roethke's poems are from *The Collected Poems of Theodore Roethke* (New Delhi : Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.,1966), hereafter cited as *CP.*
2. Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism : A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (London : 17 Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1957) , p. 19, hereafter cited as *Mysticism.*
3. Richard Allen Blessing, *Theodore Roethke's Dynamic Vision* (Bloomington . Indiana Univ. Press, 1974), p. 141.
4. Hugh Staples, "Rose in the Sea-wind", *American Literature,* Vol. XXXVI (May, 1964), p. 195.
5. *Mysticism,* p. 38.
6. Neal Bowers, *Theodore Roethke : The Journey From I to Otherwise* (Columbia Univ. of Missouri Press, 1982), p. 162.
7. George Wolff, *Theodore Roethke* (Boston : Twayne Publishers, 1981), p. 106.
8. *On the Poet and His Craft : Selected Prose of Theodore Roethke,* ed., Ralph J. Mills, Jr. (Seattle : Univ. of Washington Press, 1965), p. 26.
9. Arnold Stein, ed., *Theodore Roethke : Essays on the Poetry* (Seattle : Univ. o Washington Press, 1965), p. XVIII.

“MARITAL HELL” IN THE PLAYS OF O’NEILL

Sunanda Mongia

A study of O’Neills plays shows that his art was intensely personal and his concept of the relationship of a husband and wife was greatly influenced by the very uncertain relationship between his parents, based, as it was, on resentment, disappointment and frustration as much as on a deep love. He was torn between his two parents and “the rift in the formative period of his life is reflected by the rifts in his play-wrighting.”[1]

O’Neill is, like his mother, a dreamer and so are many of his characters. They are the eternal seekers and victims of a warped and distorted idealism. Very often their idealism is of self-images based on social expectations. In case this idealism extends to one’s relationships, especially conjugal, the expectation of an attempt by others to conform to such idealism is bound to be unfulfilled. Often recurring but elusive is another type of woman who has in her O’Neill’s memory of his nurse Sarah Buchnell. Motherly and plump, she had seemed like a comforting, surrogate mother in his infancy. Tales of horror and death later identified her with the woman who philosophized on life and death. She is the third angle of O’Neill’s eternal triangles, the kindly prostitute to whom the husband goes in moments of marital stress. Examples are Cybel in *Great God Brown* and the prostitute in *Welded.*

O’Neill’s three wives, specially Agnes and Carlotta, inspired some of the women of his plays. These plays are usually autobiographical and the hero’s mask is worn by O’Neill himself or by some aspect of his character. At times, his brother Jamie or father James inspired some of the characters. Curtis Jayson of *The First Man* bears a distinct resemblence to O’Neill who himself was a bad husband and an indifferent father. Most of the husbands in O’Neill’s plays share his qualities and if their wives are as demanding as are most of the women in these plays, their relationships are bound to fail. Jayson argues with his wife that they should be ‘one mind, one will, one dream’. Their egos clash and failure is inevitable. So the least that such couples can do is to accept their sado-masochistic relationship and most of them do it.

The wives in the plays usually belong to two distinct categories.

One of the groups has women who are gentle and long-suffering, idealistic and religious, nervous, mentally weak and emotionally dependent. They bear a close resemblance to O'Neill's mother Mary. Elsa Loving of *Days Without End* cries out :

> I only know I hate life. It's dirty and insulting and evil. I want my dream back–or I want to be dead with it.[2]

Christine's cry in *Mourning Becomes Electra* is full of longing :

> Why can't all of us remain innocent and loving and trusting ? But God won't leave us alone. He twists and wrings and tortures our lives with others' lives until we poison each other to death.[3]

This is the idealism of Elsa tortured into retaliation in Christine. She may be called a member of the group of "emotional vampires" which is Kenneth Tynan's name for Mary Tyrone. Obviously, Mary Tyrone is truest to type. She says :

> None of us can help the things life has done to us. They're done before you realize it, and once they're done they make you do things until at last every thing comes between you and what you'd like to be, and you've lost your true self for ever.[4]

These women are trusting and loving but there is a sense of disillusionment and betrayal in them. The need for faith repulsed by life leads to cynicism, skepticism and despair. The urge to love gets frustrated and leads to hatred or a frantic possessiveness. The urge to create dies down in a tearful nostalgia or is distorted into a contemptuous destructiveness. Therefore, as Gassner comments about *Long Day's Journey*, "The acute sense of human contradiction and divisions expressed in this play (and actually expressed in most of the plays that preceded it for more than two decades) is the final clue to O'Neill's course as dramatist."[5] Like Nina Leeds, O'Neill's women have a desire for something more, something better than life can offer, and its inevitable frustration lies at the heart of the tragedy of the man-woman relationship.

As early as 1920, this group of frustrated idealists was the preoccupation of O'Neill. In Emma Crosby of *Different*, written in 1920, we have a woman who instead of being true to life chooses to be true to her romantic convictions. When she is no longer young, her repressed sexuality clamours for attention and she realizes that life has left for standing on the curb. She gives way to a repulsive flirtatious sensuality. This reversal in Emma Crosby is unusual; for

O'Neill's women usually have a tenacious grip on their idealism, on their insistence that the unreal is real and they usually never change their minds. These women are more like Mary who "drifts peacefully into illusions under cover of the night which functions like a shroud against a harsh daylight reality."[6]

O'Neill often depicted one of the two members of his couple in the throes of spiritual dissociation from the vital springs of life. The fear of life, self-centredness, the repressions of emotions and a shrinking from commitment led to a deep incommunication with the spouse. Ella of *All God's Chillun Got Wings* is such a woman and her obsessions are so strong that she drags her husband into insanity along with herself. For O'Neill, Ella is a type of woman very common and almost universal. Thus, "He created Ella Downey and at once found the world full of Ella Downeys."[7] Abbie Cabot longs for a possessive human contact while Ephraim tries to live upto, which is at best, a very personalized view of God. Christine brings her downfall in her idealistic need of a romantic love. Mary is the maladjusted, repressed escapist of *Long Day's Journey*. Some of the couples are destroyed by a compound of self-centred egotism and an overwhelming urge for an idealistic level of existence, as we find in the case of Jonathan and Eleanor Cape in *Welded*, Jim Harris and Ella in *All Gods Chillun* Nina Leeds and Ned Darrel in *Strange Interlude*, Robert and Ruth in *Beyond the Horizon* and Dion and Margaret in *Great God Brown*.

In Robert and Ruth we see that their tragedy arises out of their clinging to unreality. Charmed by his idealism and romanticism, she expects him to combine it with the practicality of Andrew while Robert expects her to live on dreams. Like so many other O'Neill couples their tragedy is that they are in the "bondage of romance that soon burns itself out."[8] With love gone there is nothing left in life for both.

It is interesting to note that only *Ah ! Wilderness* shows marital compatibility and *Anna Christie* is even accused of having a "happily-ever-after" ending. About the first play O'Neill had said that it is the kind of life he would have wanted for himself. This play is, in other words, O'Neill's only daydream. To all those critics who complained of the conventional ending of *Anna Christie*, O'Neill said that the fundamentals of their relationship would always be the same as in the play, loving and the next moment hating each other. In the play Mat says to Anna :

> For I've a power of strength in me to lead men the way I

> want, and women too may be, and I'm thinking I'd change you to a new woman entirely, so I'd never know what kind of person you'd been in the past at all.[9]

The coming together of Mat and Anna at the end of the play is based on the assumption of Mat that he can make Anna perfect and impose on her his expectation of an idealism. But we can anticipate that Mat would often be doubtful and regretful and Anna on the defensive or full of injured dignity. Whenever O'Neill shows a couple moving towards an idealistic relationship, it is with the implication that it is doomed to failure as is also the case with Eileen Carmody and Stephen Murray in *Straw.* O'Neill's idea of a perfect wife is probably Miriam, Lazarus' wife, for she wears the mask of a woman and it shows the acceptance of motherhood, love and pain. But, her "gaze is turned within, oblivious to the life outside,"[10] and she can be called a dissappointment for Lazarus, for she concedes his view point only on the verge of death.

The relationship of love and trust that Eben and Abbie are able to establish at the end of *Desire Under the Elms* after many sacrifices seems perfect but is destined to last only till the gallows. Their love, moreover, is based on false premises, Eben has a deep hatred for his father for having mistreated his mother. This feeling stimulates his furtive relationship with Abbie. Eben seeks from Abbie before he can accept her conformity to the kind of woman his mother was. He, then, expects Abbie to become an ideal person.

In *Mourning Becomes Electra,* Christine's idealistic demand of love and perfection in marriage is thwarted so that she must seek satisfaction elsewhere. Her husband says, "Something keeps me sitting numb in my own heart like a statue of a dead man in a town square."[11] So, he cannot compare with Adam, her lover, who "gives the impression of always being on the offensive or defensive, always fighting life."[12] Therefore, when Ezra tries to build up their lost relationship and rapport, it is too late for the doomed couple.

In *Days Without End* "the tortured hero is a Faust who is his own Mephistopheles."[13] So, naturally, when he is incredibly happy in marriage, he cannot believe in it. It becomes almost a necessity for him to prove his doubts and this makes him destroy his perfect marriage. To do so is quite easy as his wife is a "humourless, puritanical woman who lives in the pietistic-romantic love she bears her husband and on her sordid ideal of his absolute chastity."[14] Not only these impractical views, the absolute tenacity to these views in all such emotional women of O'Neill make their men capitulate under their will. John's capitulation in the end is caused by his need as also by his wife's expectation. Elsa's expectation of love and devotion from John is total and she says :

> I know he loves me. I know he knows how much I love him. He knows what that would do to me. It would kill forever all my faith in life—all truth, all beauty, all love; I wouldn't want to live ![15]

Their marriage has to be a "sacrament of faith"and when John says, "Perhaps, in my soul, I hate love,"[16] we can see that their relationship is a doomed "Marital hell". This, then is the tragedy of all O'Neill husbands. They cannot live up to the idealistic expectations of their wives. They fear such fulfilment for like John, who says,"he had again let love put him at the mercy of life,"[17] they also are afraid.

In *Welded*, Jonathan is a writer and his wife an actress. Both are fairly successful, both are well-suited in marriage, both love each other, but demand for perfection is so much that they want to merge into one another. So,

> The poet of *Welded* cannot let it (life) along; he and his wife, the stage directions tell us, move in circles of light that represent 'auras of egotism' and the high ideals of their marriage are but ways each ego uses to get possession of the other.[18]

In this play, try hard as he might, O'Neill could not maintain the pose of an evenhanded judge and his sympathies sneak to Jonathan Cape. In most of the plays, though not always overtly, his sympathies lie with the husbands and lovers.

The relationships of Dion and Margaret in *Great God Brown* is very illumating. She loves him only when he wears his social mask. When without it, she is terrified of him. The rebellious, melancholic, satyric searcher is not at all compatible with conventionally evolved and accepted ideal of a successful, loving and providing husband and father. Margaret also wears a mask of her own face, a romantic idealizing mask of a "Girl". "She is vivacious, blond with big eyes, lithe figure, expression is intelligent and dreamy."[19]

In her urge for the Perfect Romance, Margaret is buffeted by life. She goes to Billy Brown's office desperately wishing for a job for Dion but she cannot admit this fact and shatter the obsessively held image of an admirable, successful husband. It is only when

Billy wears Dion's mask and she thinks that he has finally succeeded that she can be truely happy and self-confident and then can discard her mask.

The relationship of Ella and Jim in *All God's Chillun Got Wings* is somewhat different, for Ella does not seek escape from reality into dreams but into insanity. However, even in Ella, the need to adjust the world to suit her ideas is the root cause of their marital trouble. The feeling of shame at having gone against the accepted social convention of 'white and white'and 'black and black' is so strong in Ella that she can be satisfied only when her feeling of racial superiority is vindicated by his failure. She is happy only when she is condescending. So, she tries to pull him down to that level of degradation which she feels is the rightful place for any "dirty nigger." On the other hand, Jim tries to prove that he is the "whitest of white."

In Neena of *Strange Interlude,* O'Neill sought to create a woman who would personify a cross-section of all womanhood. Instead, he created a personification of his own ambivalent feelings for women. The "Triumphant egotism" of Nina is a recurring quality of most of O'Neill's women. Marsden is quite right in his understanding of Nina-Darrell relationship when he thinks, "She loves his love for her."[20] These women want their husbands' desires to "converge" in them. This is demand for emotional servility which is bound to be spurned. These women — Nina, Lavinia, Mary, Ruth etc. — therefore must resign from life. Some of them compromise, like Eleanor does, and some even manage to assert their will, like Ella, Elsa and Margaret do.

In O'Neill, the tragic predominates. The mystical affirmation of life and love as in *Straw, Days Without End, Lazarus Laughed,* is rare. If there is any affirmation, it is more like that in *Desire Under the Elms* and *The Great God Brown* in which the cures of human ills are almost too late. In such an atmosphere conjugal relations are the first to fall prey to doubt, guilt, and indifference. Mary and James Tyrone, Jamie and Josie Hogan, Chuck and Cora show that these relationships are bound for failure. So in O'Neill we find a keen sense of alienation from one's roots and one's relationships so that all the energies are directed towards building of bridges, however shaky or flimsy. So, happiness, in fact, becomes of secondary importance in a relationship threatened out of existence. O'Neill's couples may be loving but they are never well-adjusted, considerate or happy. And, when they make an extra effort to resolve their relationships, it is always with despair nagging them with failure. Obviously, then, O'Neill never believed in happy married life.

REFERENCES

1. Gassner, John (ed) "The Nature of O'Neill's Achievement : A Summary and Appraisal," *O'Neill : A Collection of Critical Essays* (New Jersey : Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 171.
2. O'Neill, Eugene, *Days Without End, Nine Plays by Eugene O'Neill* (New York : Modern Library, 1941), p. 554.
3. O'Neill, Eugene, *Mourning Becomes Electra, Nine Plays,* p. 759.
4. O'Neill, Eugene, *Long Days Journey into Night* (London : Jonathan Cape, 1956), p. 53.
5. *Gassner,* p. 171.
6. Brustien, Robert, *The Theatre of Revolt : An Approach to Modern Drama* (Boston : Little Brown and Co., 1964), p. 353.
7. Lawishn, Ludwig, "All God's Chillun," *The Nation* 118 (June 4), 664.
8. Woolcott, Alexender, "*Beyond the Horizon* : O'Neill's Tragedy," *The New York Times,* Feb. 4, 1920, p. 19.
9. O'Neill, Eugene, *Anna Christie : The Plays of Eugene O'Neill* (New York : Random House), p. 74.
10. O'Neill, Eugene, *Lazarus Laughed, Nine Plays,,* p. 382.
11. O'Neill, Eugene, *Mourning Becomes Electra,* p. 740.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 703.
13. Brown, John Mason, *Playwright's Progress : O'Neill and the Critics,* ed. Jordan Y. Miller (Chicago : Scot, Foreman & Co., 1965), p. 81,
14. Trilling, Lionel, *The New Republic,* 58 (Sept. 22, 1936), p. 179.
15. O'Neill, Eugene, *Days Without End,* p. 523.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 527.
17. *Ibid.,* p. 563.
18. Trilling, Lionel, "Eugene O'Neill," *Playwright's Progress,* p. 116.
19. O'Neill, Eugene, *Great God Brown, Nine Plays,* p. 311.
20. O'Neill, Eugene, *Strange Interlude, Nine Plays,* p. 607.

SRI AUROBINDO'S PROJECTED VISION OF POETRY

S.S. Bhagat

The most remarkable phenomenon about Sri Aurobindo's aesthetic imagination is his gigantic effort to achieve a synthetic vision where life could be viewed in all totality and finality. Many of us who know Sri Aurobindo only as a mighty evolutionary philosopher and a mystic tend to forget that he was also a great poet and an equally great literary critic for whom poetry was the very destiny of mankind. For him poetry was not a by-product of the creative human intelligence, nor the product of the surplus of the creative energy of man, not even an elevated superior pastime as T.S. Eliot would have us believe in his Preface to *The Sacred Wood* : poetry for Aurobindo was "the Mantra of the Real" — the supreme verbal expression of Truth, Beauty and Delight.

The Future Poetry[1] of Sri Aurobindo was originally written in a series of essays and published in the philosophical monthly *The Arya* over the period ranging from 1917 to 1920. It was only in 1953 that these serialised essays were published in the book-form. This literary critical volume of Aurobindo enjoys the same high status in the world of literary criticism as his *The Life Divine* in the field of philosophy and *The Synthesis of Yoga* in the realm of Yogic contemplations. The important thing for us to remember is that *The Future Poetry* is a creation that is the integral part of Aurobindo's total vision of the future of the human race. For Aurobindo literary and artistic activities were a distinct and sure way of realizing the ultimate and the absolute. *The Future Poetry* is not only an original contribution to the modern aesthetics, but it is a pioneering work that surpasses the *Aesthetics* of Croce, the *Literary Essays* of Ezra Pound, the *Speculations* of Hulme, the *Principles of Literary Criticism* of I.A. Richards and the *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry* of Maud Bodkin in range and perception of the subject as also the role of the subject in the present day human life and the future human evolution. It forecasts the shape of new things to come and envisages the advent of the new man, the Superman on the earth. *The Future Poetry* is the product of a mind that was soaked in the Western literary tradition beginning from Homer and Virgil to T.S. Eliot and was deeply immersed in the ancient lores and Sanskrit literature of India. It was such a critical consciousness added with supreme spiritual power that could have a universal and transcendental view of many-sided aspects and problems of poetry and art. The greatest strength of Aurobindo as a literary critic was in his creative genius which he demonstrated by writing *Savitri*, a monumental modern epic in no way inferior to Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Homer's *Iliad*. Rather, *Savitri* would stand in the line of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, which are no mere tales of mighty actions of gods and men, but which in their quintessence are the very truths of the human existence, its purpose and its final goal. Aurobindo's *Savitri* has an added and extra charm inasmuch as it peeps into the future of the race of man and tries to visualize the perfect, the fully-illumined man who will be the master of his own destiny.

The problem of the poetry of the future origninates from Aurobindo's main concern for the future of man and his life and civilization on earth, and from his conviction that "an insistent interest in future man"[2] is "the most fruitfully distinguishing characteristic of the modern mind"[3] and "the attempt to cast a seeing eye as well as a shaping will on the future is now an essential side of the human outlook..."[4]. Aurobindo's faith that the whole human race is still in the process of evolution made him believe logically that "poetry, like everything else in man, evolves...its fundamental nature, function and law are always the same, still there is an evolution within this law of its being."[5] This evolution, as in man so in poetry, is the act of bringing out of new powers which lay concealed in the seed or the first form. In this evolutionary process the simple gives place to more complex and the superficial gives place to more and more profound. For Aurobindo, poetry is something vital and organic and it is "a psychological phenomenon, the poetic impulse a highly charged forced of expression of the mind and soul of man and therefore, in trying to follow out its line of evolution it is the development of the psychological motive and power, it is the kind of feeling, vision, mentality which is seeking in it for its word and idea and form of beauty and it is the power of the soul through which it finds expression or the level of mind from which it speaks which we must distinguish to get a right idea of the progress of poetry."[6] Conclusively, "if poetry is a highly charged power of aesthetic expression of the soul of man, it must follow in its course of evolution the development of that soul."[7]

Explaining this nature and process of evolution Aurobindo writes, "Poetry at a certain stage or of a certain kind expresses this turn of the human mentality in word and in form of beauty. It can reach great heights in this kind of mental mould, can see the physical forms of the gods, lift to a certain greatness by its vision and disclose a divine quality in even the most obvious, material and outward being and action of man; and in this type we have Homer. Arrive to a greater depth of living...man begins to feel more sensitively the passion and power of life, its joy and pain, the wonder and terror and beauty and romance to turn everything into moved thought and sentiment and sensation of the life-soul, the desire-soul in his which first forces itself on his introspection when he begins to go inward. Poetry too takes this turn, rises and deepens to a new kind of greatness and at the summit in this kind we have Shakespeare."[8] But he hastens to caution us against modern intellectualism that is bare and barren and incapable of creating good and great poetry. He emphatically declares, "the pure intellect cannot create poetry...it is the spirit within and not the mind without that is the fount of poetry."[9] If this intellectualism "leads to nothing beyond itself, it must end, however brilliant its work, in a poetic decadence."[10] However, Aurobindo feels that present human civilization is not heading merely towards scientific intellectualism, rather "the human intelligence seems on the verge of an attempt to rise through the intellectual into an intuitive mentality; it is no longer content to regard the intellect and the world of positive fact as all or the intellectual reason as a sufficient mediator between life and the spirit, but is beginning to perceive that there is a spiritual mind which can admit us to a greater and more comprehensive vision."[11] Aurobindo finds a glimpse of this comprehansive vision in the poetry of Whitman, Yeats and Tagore, and has, therefore, a hope in the organic evolution of poetry resulting in "a luminous totality."[12] The future of poetry, he believes, is vitally linked with the future evolved nature of human consciousness. The future poetry in all its new bearings will make us realize that "the spirit and life are not incompatible, but rather a greater power of the spirit brings a greater power of life."[13] The function of poetry, Aurobindo believes, is to create a harmonic rhythm between the immaterial and the concrete, the spirit and life, and this function will be performed by future poetry with greater strength and intensity. This poetry will make our existence more meaningful and provide greater sustenance to the human life by making us feel and realise as to how beauty and delight are really spiritual in substance and purpose.

It was in search of the vital link between matter and spirit and poetry's specific place between these two that the seer in Aurobindo visualised poetry as "the *mantra* of the Real" the enchanted syllables that encompass the total Reality and express its facets of

Divine Truth, Divine Delight and Divine Beauty. In order to fully investigate and discover the role of poetry in human life he put to himself the fundamental questions : What is the source of poetry ? What is the nature and essential law of poetry ? And what is the highest power and good we demand from poetry ?

Aurobindo discovered that the innermost source of poetry is the soul : poetry in its essence is an activity and expression of the spirit. And this essence could be expressed verbally only through the *mantra,* and so poetry is *the mantra of the Real.* It is not possible to express the true meaning of the Sanskrit word *mantra* with all its shades and aura in the English language. No English word is fully capable of conveying the total meaning of the word *mantra.* The English words 'incantation' and 'magic' can to some extent give some idea to the Western mind about the true import and power of the word *mantra,* but they fail in communicating the true nature and power of this Vedic word as the great Vedic Rishis (seers) looked into this divinely charged word.

It is interesting to note that even in the ancient times the great Western minds like those of Socrates and Plato while contemplating on the subject of poetry could see its magical nature and could divine its source beyond the human realm. Plato spoke about poets as persons "possessed by the Muses" who wrote poetry being "inspired" by some "frenzy". For Plato the poet was a possessed creature, not using language in the way that normal human beings do, but speaking in a divinely inspired frenzy. In Plato's celebrated work *Ion* Socrates says to Ion, the rhapsodist, "The gift you possess is not an art, but an inspiration; there is a divinity moving you, like that contained in the stone which Euripides calls a magnet...all good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems, not by art, but because they are inspired and possessed...not by art does the poet sing, but by power divine...the poets are only the interpreters of the gods by whom they are severally possessed..."

Even in our times critics and poets like Abercrombie and C. Day Lewis tend to believe that the source of poetry lies much deeper in the human psyche than commonly believed and understood, and that the true function of poetry is to create an incantatory power that will not merely delight us, but possess us completely and 'kindle our minds into unusual vitality.' Abercrombie puts the question, "What, then is the first thing which we require of all poetry — not merely in order to be great, but to exist at all ?", and then himself answers the question, "I will call it, compendiously, 'incantation'; the power of using words so as to produce in us a sort of enchantment; and by that I mean a power not merely to charm and delight, but to kindle our minds into unusual vitality, exquisitely aware both of things and of the connexions of things.”[14] This incantatory power, Abercrombie knows full well, is not to be achieved by any technical trick or excellence of craftsmanship; this has to come from the poet's creative power within that discovers “the magical phrase” which can release “uncommon energy of meaning” and can also recreate in us another man's experience. Aurobindo's poetry as *mantra of the Real* includes this and goes much farther by proclaiming that the *mantric* poetry aims at setting up a direct relationship or communication between the gods or the divine powers and the poetic soul, and through him the listener's or reader's soul, below. Under this mysterious and haunting spell of such poetic utterances there occurs the vibrant fusion of the human and divine souls illumining the human consciousness to the magnitude and intensity wherein it can hear the music of the Real, it can look through all that is concrete and material and can touch the very soul of the things under observation. That is how in ancient India a poet was a *Rishi,* a seer or a *Drasta.*

C. Day Lewis also divines in his *A Hope for Poetry* the incantatory nature and power of poetry when he affirms that poetry has “its roots in incantation.”[15] “Poetry”, he says, “was born from magic : it grew up with religion : it lived through the age of reason :” and there is every possibility of its survival, it cannot simple “die in the century of propaganda”[16], rather, “it is possible for poetry to steal the thunder of science, to absorb these trivial business incantations and turn them to its own uses.”[17] However, the Western mind right since the first flourishing of the Greek up to the modern times with T.S. Eliot as one of the greatest champions of poetry and poetry's business could only have the shadowy glimpse of the origin and nature of poetry. Neither T.S. Eliot's ‘depersonalisation’ nor Keats's ‘negative capability’ can fully convey the true source and significance of poetry as captured in Aurobindo's unique phrase the mantra of the Real, though the Western mind is almost on the point of a breakthrough where it is to realise that poetry is an art that is more serious and true than science, and therein lies the true salvation of mankind.

Aurobindo's concept of poetry as *mantra* has a much deeper and wider connotation and implication. Mantra for him is “the highest, intensest revealing form of poetic thought and expression”[18] and he further explains, “what the Vedic poets meant by the *mantra* was an inspired and revealed seeing and visioned thinking, attended by a realisation, to use the ponderous but necessary modern word, of some inmost truth of God and self and man and Nature and cosmos and life and thing and thought and experience and deed. It was a thinking that came on the wings of a great soul rhythm, *chhandas*. For the seeing could not be separated from the hearing; it was one act."[19] Now, after explaining the essential nature of *mantra*, Aurobindo tries to find out the chord of affinity between poetry and *mantra*. All poetic expressions, howsoever beautiful and enchanting, cannot necessarily possess the virtues of *mantra*. "Poetry is the *mantra* only when it is the voice of the inmost truth and is couched in the highest power of the very rhythm and speech of that truth. And the ancient poets of the Veda and Upanishads claimed to be uttering the *mantra* because always it was this inmost and almost occult truth of things which they strove to see and hear and speak and because they believed themselves to be using or finding its innate soul rhythms and the sacrificial speech of it cast up by the divine Agni, the sacred Fire in the heart of man. The mantra is the supreme rhythmic language which seizes hold upon all that is finite and brings into each the light and voice of its own infinite."[20] Now, the question arises : Is such a mantric poetry possible in the modern age of science and technology or in the future times of greater complexities ? Sri Aurobindo himself raises this question in *The Future Poetry* and after deep deliberation concludes that such a poetry is not only possible but inevitable, if not today, at least in some distant future when the consciousness of the human race is firmly established in the Spirit, the psychic-being. He already finds fragmentary glimpses of such poetry in Wordsworth, Shelley, Yeats, Whitman and Tagore. Aurobindo's *Savitri* itself contains many such lines and passages that could be cited as perfect examples of such poetry :

> As when the *mantra* sinks in Yoga's ear,
> Its message eneters stirring the blind brain
> And keeps in the dim ignorant cells it sound;
> ....
> The word repeats itself in rhythmic strains;
> Thought, vision, feeling, sense, the body's self
> Are seized unalterably and he endures
> An ecstasy and an immortal change;
> He feels a Wideness and becomes a Power
> And knowledge rushes on him like a sea,
> Transmuted by the white spiritual ray
> He walks in naked heavens of joy and calm,
> Sees the God-face and hears transcendent speech.[21]

Some of the modernist English poets like Yeats and Eliot have in their poems the premonition, though in patches, of the future mantric poetry as envisioned by Aurobindo. The following lines from *Sailing to Byzantium* by W.B. Yeats and from R.S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* could be justifiably cited as examples :

O sages standing in God's holy fire
As in the gold mosaic of a wall
Come from the holy fire, perne in agyre,
And be the singing masters of my soul.
Consume my heart away; sick with desire
And fastened to a dying animal
It knows not what it is; and gather me
Into the artifice of eternity.[22]

* * * * * * *

At the still point of the turning world.
        Neither flesh nor fleshless;
Neither from not towards; at the still point,
                                        there the dance is,
But neither arrest nor movement. And do not call it fixity.
Where past and future are gathered.
        Neither movement from nor towards,
Neither ascent nor decline. Except for the point,
                                        the still point,
There would be no dance, and there is only the dance.[23]

And finally, to the question as to what is the highest power and good we demand from poetry, Aurobindo answers that "The poetry of the future has to solve... a problem new to the art of poetic speech, an utterance of the deepest soul of man and of the universal spirit in things, not only with another and a more complete vision, but in the very inmost language of the self-experience of the soul and the sight of the spiritual mind."[24] Amongst the Western critics, Middleton Murry analysing the effect of 'pure poetry' upon the reader comes very near the Aurobindian interpretation of the function of poetry when he says, "pure poetry induces in the well-attuned mind a condition akin to that of the silent mystical contemplation which is the supreme form of prayer."[25] Amongst the great powers that create poetry are the eternal powers of Truth, Beauty, Delight, Life and the Spirit what Aurobindo calls "the five greater ideal lamps or rather the five suns of poetry"[26], and he assigns to poetry the highest task of creating a supreme harmony of the above five eternal powers. It is in striking this supreme harmony through poetic power that a poet-seer can for himself realise a state of the Life Divine and can share this state with his readers or listeners. Aurobindo finds in the lofty philosophic expressions of the Upanishads the examples of true power. In the Upanishads, he discovers "the expression of a peculiar psychic feeling of Nature common in far eastern poets or the poetic setting of mystic states or of as especial religious emotion and experience of which we have a few examples in Europe and many in the literature of Western Asia and India."[27] He senses that there has already set in everywhere a different and much larger creative and interpretative movement that "we now see in the first states, an expansion of the inner way of vision to outer no less than to inner things, to all that is subjective to us and all that is objective, a seeing by a closer identity in the self of man, with self of things and life and Nature and of all that meets him in the universe."[28] We may hopefully share Aurobindo's belief that in future poetry will be the highest pursuit of mankind and it will be a most powerful instrument to look into the Truth and realise the true nature of the Self.

REFERENCES

1. Sri Aurobindo : The Future Poetry, published in one volume by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1953.
2. *The Future Poetry*, p. 152.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 152-53.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 265-66.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-68.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-76.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
14. Abercrombie, Lascelles : *The Idea of Great Poetry*, Martin Secker, 1926, p. 18.
15. Lewis C. Day : A hope for Poetry, Blackwell, 1945, p. 30.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
18. The future Poetry, p. 280.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.
21. Sri Aurobindo : Savitri : Book IV, Canto 3, p. 426, one-volume edition.

22. W.B. Yeats : *Sailing to Byzantium.*
23. T.S. Eliot : *Four Quartets,* p. 9.
24. *The Future Poetry,* pp. 398-99.
25. Murry, Middleton : *Pure Poetry in English Critical Essays,* 20th Century, O.U.P. 1935, p. 312.
26. *The Future Poetry,* p. 282.
27. *Ibid.,* pp. 398-99.
28. *Ibid.,* pp. 398-99.

BALDWIN'S BLACK VISION : THE BEYOND

B.R. Nagpal

W.B. Yeats wrote in his letters, "We must imagine ourselves different from what we are and assume that second self.[1] Art is an exploration of the mystery of human life. Baldwin's characters are in search of a frontier where the bedevilling call of being haunted is replaceable by concrete, definite relationships, orientation and adjustment. The author in two of his remarkable novels, *Go Tell it on the Mountain* and *Another Country* projects the confrontation between the world of the spirit and an area of void. The juxtaposition of two distinctly different planes of reality is an artistic articulation of an embedded, interlocked state.

The polarity in Black consciousness is of an ambivalent state. Black characters like Ida and Rufus in *Another Country* and John in *Go Tell it on the Mountain* are constantly drawn towards the depths of their person and its expression in credible, realisable forms. These characters, in wrestling with their present state, are paradoxically caught in self-retractions towards their foggy, depersonalising past and to an assertion of their personalities.

Baldwin's earlier novel, *Go Tell it on the Mountain* is a fine exposition of the spiritual existential phase of man's encounter with himself. John is a highly representative character who exemplifies a high degree of self-diagnosis. Through flashback technique, he is a reflection on other characters, particularly Gabriel and the entire Grimes family. John in his deflated state is overawed by depraved Black life. He seeks different moral and metaphysical priorities from his unreal father, Gabriel. Gabriel is the unholy preacher whom John witnesses in delusions.

Gabriel himself is a phoney, non-representational, inconsequential figure. He has to submit to a pre-existing, deterministic religious life. The Negro Church offers him no articulation of the inaudible currents of his life. Gabriel is in an inexorable state when his spirituality and morals are floated in his involvement with a series of women.

John, from the beginning of the novel, records in his collective unconscious the myriad elusive strands of Black self-annihilation. Gabriel's duties as a preacher are scanty and baffling. His diffuse, multiple displacements in love spring from stigma — the corruption of his race. These irrational acts account for Gabriel's writhing self.

John has both angelic and devilish visitations in his conception of a heavenly kingdom. His life is at a low ebb. The tides in Grimes family make him draw towards an archetpyal self-protective self-preserving Black position. The following lines show the spiritual element in John which becomes his controlling point. "He would be, of all the mightiest, the most beloved of the Lord's anointed : and he would live in this shining city,. which his ancestors had seen with longing from far away."[2]

John experiences a primeval terror of being on account of which he is not able to project any vivid image of himself. He turns to an originating Black bliss. The Black world in a state of ferment does not bring this hope for him. Aunt Florence's state and Deborah's corruption by Whites shows how historically the Black family is under erosion and disintegration. Gabriel's morally reprehensible life with a number of women characters like Elizabeth, Esther and Deborah (his wife) shows that his lapses are committed out of an abnormality and his person is not irrecoverable.

Critics like Rosenblatt and Robert Bolt emphasize the Negro's world of self-eruption. Robert Bolt says, "In exchange for the power of the word the Negro trades away the personal power of his sex and the social power of his people."[3] John through the maze of his journey is struggling for self-transcendence. He is consistently craving for finality where the duplicity of purity-degeneration, sense-intellect may cease smoothering him.

Gabriel is a victim of an unanalysable perversity. His centrifugal self is continuously trapped in wrong-doing. Gabriel ideally interprets Negro humanity in terms of plain goodness and the nearness between man and woman as normal acts of love and sex. But in actuality, he is constantly tethered to Elizabeth, Esther, Deborah who remind him about the impossibility of spiritual regeneration. The Christian viewpoint that Gabriel can redeem himself by abandoning his sinful life, holds good for him. His conscience torments him. However, he becomes an ineffective preacher and an irresponsible head of the family. He feels guilty when his son cannot be his successor.

The characters pass through a good deal of self-recognition in their state of loss. John, Elizabeth, Esther, Deborah look forward expectantly to a blissful state where they can reclaim their real self in its entirety. John experiences a state of trance in the last pages of the novel. There is a sense of direction in him as he views life on a different plane. Baldwin writes : "He thought of the mountain top, where he longed to be where the sun would cover him like a cloth of gold, would cover his head like a crown of fire, and in his hands he would hold a living rod. But there was no mountain where John lay, here, no robe, no crown. And the living rod was uplifted in other hands."[4] John's censure of Gabriel's worldly standpoint makes him antithetically pursue a course where he can accept himself. John stands adrift from several Black characters in the novel. There is a myth like escape in him towards a sense of harmony and completeness.

Baldwin's other novel, *Another Country* reveals the cleavage in the Negro life as experienced by characters like Ida and Rufus. Both of them recall the cultural - racial roots of their living. Their entanglement with white characters, Vivaldo and Leona, present a crisis. Their quest turns out to be ontological. Black-White distortion, the interference of White standpoint with Black-order can be seen in the case of Ida-Rufus. The weird spectrum of sex-relations as between Ida and Vivaldo, Rufus and Leona shows a sense of pre-conditioned disorder and a craving for grandeur. Black characters like Ida and Rufus appear to be psycho-pathological figures who seek validation of their primal, stable Black world of the past. They carry a sharp awareness of themselves in a predominant White World.

Ida and Rufus constantly seek to be governed by their natural, substantial living. The yearning of self for continuity, an organic wholeness is evident in Ida's jazz-capabilities and Rufus' evocative ardours for Leona. Rufus seeks a meeting point with Leona's self. Black receptivity does not imply an escape from immediate incidents, but on the contrary, it points to an idealizing, edifying perspective. Ida's aesthetic sense in her songs conveys an exaltation in Black folk idiom. Rufus's love for Leona is full of poignancy and trust. He is constantly stimulated towards good Black-White relations. Ida keeps on organising herself to her sense of primordial. She makes imperative the cycles of white guilt and acts of irresponsibility towards Blacks in her utterances. Vivaldo who is Rufus's friend has exasperating memories of culpability after the latter's death. Ida represents the efficacy of a new stage in the novel where Black-White sequential relations can have a terminating point.

White figures, Baldwin exhorts, need retrieval for themselves on moral and psychic levels. Vivaldo can look hopefully towards a better relations with Ida after repentance of his neglect towards Rufus. Ida suggests in Rufus's suicide the kind of Black selfvictimisation which makes evident how Black characters are not able to establish their dignity, personality, innocence in the riven world with their white counterparts. Ida's following outburst is a significant reminder of White deflection. She tells Vivaldo of her disparaging love-affairs with Ellis as also with him : "Well now, let's do this and now let's do that and now let's fuck and now let's go. And do that all of our life. And then I'd come home and look at you. But I'd bring him with me. It was as though I was dirty, and you had to wash me, each time. And I know you never could, no matter how hard we tried, and I didn't hate him but I hated you. And I hated me."[5] Ida's reflexes about the white man's evil suggest an eradication of it through self-purification on the part of both Blacks and Whites.

There is constant opposition between Black and White modes of apprehension. Rufus and Ida seek their incarnate self amid an inextricable darkness. Ida's relations with Vivaldo are at a breaking point because of her prior governance by her sense of natural passion. Her attraction for Vivaldo falters, turns into an anomaly as there is no filtering container for impressions of fear and hatered.

Baldwin writes in *Nobody Knows My Name* : "Human freedom is a complex, difficult - and private thing. If we can liken life, for moment to a furnace, then freedom is the fire which burns away illusions".[6] Thus Ida realises how her feeling of participation is different from that of Vivaldo. She manifests variable responses in the contexts of fluid Black-White encounters. She dreads the mutability of things. At stages, the sustaining life-principle in her becomes extinct. There is a refractory stage for the self-contained Black world.

Ida turns to hallucinations, dispersion of impressions, fixations and a state of psych-explosion in the different sex-arrangements that Baldwin unrolls forth. The sense of being complementary does not occur to her in most of her love-affairs. She finds herself engulfed in her isolation. Ida tells Vivaldo how her affair with Ellis is parasitical. The physical context does not take her away from her segment of reality. White domain and White presuppositions do not supplant in her the sense of degeneration. The emergence of a new identifiable person in her situation does not occur.

The Richard-Cass tie is an inversion of a substantial human relationship. The sex-partnership does not follow from any moral source. The sense of mutuality between the two is on a wishful level. The contrast with the Ida-Vivaldo tie makes a parody of the Richard-Cass tie. Baldwin suggests the possibility of eventual relations between Ida and Vivaldo. Vivaldo wants to fit into wholeness of Ida's perspective. The corollary of Black-White attitudes lies in Vivaldo's struggle for acceptance by Ida. Vivaldo is symbolic of White guilt in matters of love, sex and consequent segregation. The fetters of Ida's life are palpable to her in her sense of transfiguration. The following lines are a precise description of an encompassing stage where the liberated selves of Vivaldo and Ida are in a state of oneness. The physical contact between the two also conveys restoration of Black-White trust. The growth of new relations are based on the goodness of Ida and Vivaldo. Baldwin writes in the novel, "She clung to him; with a sigh she buried her face in his chest. There was nothing erotic in it, they were like two weary children. And it was she who was comforting him. Her long fingers stroked his back and he began slowly with a horrible strangling sound, to weep, for she was stroking his innocence out of him."[7]

Baldwin's works open out a new dimension for the characters as an ever-renewing reality. Both the novels *Go Tell It on The Mountain* and *Another Country* prove that an area of freedom exists where the Black world can grow by itself. White order can stand along with it in happy communication. Frank Kermode comments on a novelist's activity to create an order in the following manner : "We probably think to accept though without making too much of it, an historical transition related to this protection of time from a literature which assumes that it has to create an order, unique and self-dependent and possibly attainable only after a critical process that might be called 'decreation'.[8] Most Black characters like John, Ida, Rufus and White ones like Vivaldo are awakened to a sense of an inscrutable deliverance in themselves. The constant is in Black-White accommodation.

REFERENCES

1. B. Rajan, *W.B. Yeats* (London, Hutchinson co. Ltd., 1969) p. 84.
2. James Baldwin, *Go Tell it on the Mountain* (London, Transworld Publishers, 1971) p. 37.
3. Robert Bone, *The Negro Novel in America* (London, Yale University Press, 1958) p. 220.
4. Baldwin, p. 25.
5. James Baldwin, *Another Country* (London, Transworld Publishers, 1970) p. 330.
6. James Baldwin, *Nobody Knows My Name* (London, Transworld Publishers, 1961) p. 98.
7. James Baldwin. *Another Country* (London, Transworld Publishers 1970) p. 335.
8. Frank Kermode, *The* Sense *of* An Ending (New York, Oxford University Press, 1967) p. 167.

THE ARRIVAL AT SELFHOOD OF THE WHARTON WOMAN : A FRESH GLANCE AT *ETHAN FROME & SUMMER*

D. Noor Khan

> The only reality was the wondorous unfolding of her new self...
>
> Edith Wharton : *Summer*

Edith Wharton started writing at the turn of the 20th Century. It was around that time that women writers in America started making a serious contribution to the field of literature. It was not till the 1860's and 1870's after Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary E. Wilkins began to write that there appeared fiction of some importance from a woman's pen. They were basically short story writers. With the appearance of Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, Susan Glaspell and Ellen Glasgow, woman writers of eminence began to emerge.

Edith Wharton was not only a critic of American life but also an important critic of American Literature. With the death of Howells in 1920, Edith Wharton was left as the connecting medium in American fiction between his generation and the group who became prominent after the War. She was one of the few Americans of her time who cared enough about series literature to take the risk of trying to make some contribution to it.

One of the outstanding features in Edith Wharton's novels is the importance that she gives to her women characters. They may be seen in various roles, that of a social parasite like Lily Bart in *The House of Mirth*, a Madame de Treymes who represents the solidarity of the French family system in the novel *Madame de Treymes*, the social climber like Urdine Spragg in *The Custom of the Country*, the exotic Ellen Ollenska with an estranged marriage behind her in *The Age of Innocence*, the humble Ann Eliza Bunner who sacrifices her happiness for the sake of her sister in *The Bunner Sisters* and many more. Whatever their role may be, they are central to the novel.

To understand why Edith Wharton gave so much importance to women it is necessary to have a brief picture of the American Scene at the turn of the Century. Women were emerging as a force to contend with. They were throwing off the barriers which had relegated them to secondary positions and were demanding their rights to vote, to step out from their homes and begin to earn their own livelihood, founding a women's club which sought to bring about new rights for women. At the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 there was an entire building devoted to women to display work done entirely by women which meant to liberate the women from prejudices and misconceptions which had shrouded them for centuries[1]. The Women's Movement spread quickly in the United States between the 1890's and the end of the First World War.

Edith Wharton was not a member of any Club nor was she an activist. But with the women's movement going on all around her she no doubt was aware of the temper of the age. She belonged to the very conservative, wealthy, New York society which fostered sexual repression and prided itself on the innocence of its young girls. Edith Wharton herself was discouraged from expressing her emotions or developing her intellect which were supposed to be very unbecoming traits in a woman. In view of this background, Edith Wharton's emotional and mental maturity are impressive. This is the reason why she stressed in her fiction the need for growth and has shown how painful and frustrating this process can be for a woman. This process of growth and development can be well illustrated by a discussion of two of her major novels *Ethan Frome* (1911) and *Summer* (1917).

The two novels *Ethan Frome* and *Summer* were written during the middle period of Edith Wharton's writing career. The New England background is common to both these novels published within six years of each other. These books are unique because they do not deal with characters struggling for survival in wealthy aristocratic families, the milieu to which Wharton herself belonged, and which had often been the subject of her novels, but deal with rural New England and a portrayal of the life of the poor and humble.

The women central to the novel are very young. They have scarcely left their teens behind them and are on the threshold of womanhood. In no other novel has the author dealt with greater depth the adolescent stage in the life of the woman. Both the girls—Mattie in *Ethan Frome* and Charity in *Summer* - display all the qualities associated with adolescence - a lightheartedness, a frivolity, a quickness of temper, sexual awareness and of course dreams and hopes about the future. Within a limited scope and limited possibilities, the novelist shows her skill in portraying the meaningful development of her women characters.

The potential for development is emphasised by the vibrancy of the adolescent woman brought out by contrast with the static backdrop in the novels. In *Summer*, Mattie comes like a breath of fresh air into the bleak scene of Ethan's life. One is first introduced to her in the novel as she is whirling down the length of the dance floor to the tune of a Virginia reel. Moments later, in a swift motion of flight, she is darting up the slope near the churchyard and some few pages later she is out coasting with Ethan. This vibrancy, this zest for life are all the more emphasised by contrast with the desolate New England background, the bleak landscape, the grim gravestones, all part of the village of Stark Field, the name which speaks out for itself and for "the deadness of the community" within it.

A similar case exists in *Summer*. It is Charity who personifies growth, movement, development, in a town where old women like Mrs. Hatchard have sealed off their true emotions in a shall of long immaturity, where women are engaged in languid household drudgery, cut off from modern civilization by a lack of basic amenities like railway, trolly and telegraph. In such an atmosphere Charity does try to do something constructive - she works at a local library, runs Lawyer Royall's house and in her spare time she loves to run out into the open countryside or bask in the sunshine lying amidst a bed of flowers.

Both these novels can be studied from the thematic point of view of youth coming into contact with age, of innocence learning to cope with experience. The very first thing realises is the relative inexperience of Mattie and Charity. The women are ready to rebel against the rather uneventful life they are leading. The tumultuous feelings welling up inside them are all part of the powerful experience of growing up. Margaret Mc Dowell maintains that the character of a woman is revealed through the experience she undergoes or her reactions to them.[2] Charity's experience consists of a series of highly dramatized scenes in this summer of growing up — her friendship with Harney, a proposal of marriage from "the horrible old man" her guardian Lawyer Royall, her pregnancy and abondonment by her lover Harney, her visit to the mountain place of her birth and her final acceptance of Lawyer Royall's proposal of marriage.

In Mattie's case the experiences are not so highly dramatized but through her interactions with the people in the Frome household and especially through her relationship with Ethan she undergoes a very subtle change. It begins with the companionship and then with the physical attraction between the two. Mattie makes him feel like a man, is there to share with him his love of nature, the mystery of the stars and arouses his protective instincts. The eternal triangle is sharply drawn up in both the novels but with a subtle difference.

In *Ethan Frome*, Ethan, his wife Zeena and her cousin Mattie form the triangle whereas in *Summer* it is Charity, her lover Harney and her guardian Lawyer Royall. The author seems to be implying that a struggle between two women in the former novel is far more deadly than that between the two men in the latter novel. This is a further extension of Edith Wharton's assertion of female strength, determination of self and singleness of purpose. Hence an encounter between two women is more deadly than between two men. Harney withdraws from the field without even putting up a semblance of a fight and Lawyer Royall moves in to stake his claim. Zeena fights for what is rightly hers and succeeds in tying her husband to her side for the rest of her days. Mattie ends up a cripple in the care of the very woman whose husband she had once wanted. Charity however resigns herself to marriage with Royall and can even look forward to the future with the coming joys of motherhood.

Another aspect in the development of the woman can be seen in the awakening of sexual desire and a longing for physical fulfilment. Edith Wharton shows the sexual development of a woman by picturing her against the backdrop of organic nature. It is remarkable that a woman writer belonging to that age and background should be bold enough to highlight so gloriously the physical side to a woman's needs. The novelist implies that at this point there is a heightened sensitivity to the surroundings. This awareness of nature is a very subtle indication of awakening to womanhood. The description of Mattie in *Ethan Frome* is always in natural terms, charged highly with sexual undertones. The visions that Ethan associates with Mattie are frankly sexual visions of panting lips, secret glens and nooks, lush vegitation, dewy tendrills and mysterious mists. For the first time there is someone who will share with Ethan his love of nature, the mystery of the stars, to appreciate the red of the sunset or the intensely blue shadows of the hemlocks on sunlit snow.

In *Summer*, Charity is so absorbed in the natural drama that she seems to become part of it. The richness of the natural scene is so steeped within her blood that it gives buoyancy to her spirits. "All the glow in her blood, the breath of the summer earth, the rustle of the forest, the fresh call of birds at sunrise, and the brooding mid-day langours, seemed to pass into her untrained voice, lifted and led by the sustaining chorus".[3] Marilyn French points out that her identification and sympathy with nature places on her actions a seal of rightness before which the taboos and moral codes of society seem insignificant. The oneness of Charity with nature, the intense concentration on nature found in this novel seem to confer upon the heroine and her acts a kind of blessedness.[4] The vision of Edith Wharton seems to include the aspect of organic nature and woman's nature in a picture of growth, fertility and rejuvenation culminating in the highly sensual image of Charity with "the smell of the thyme into which she crushed her face, the fingering of the wind in her hair and through her cotton blouse..."[5] There is always the development of a parallel between woman and nature.

Growth and development in the women can be viewed through the relationship with the men in their lives. In the fictional world of Edith Wharton these relationships can be viewed as a very subtle power struggle between man and woman. And until the man is willing to accept his secondary status in the course of things, he tries to supress the woman emotionally and socially. As long as Ethan is able to make his own decisions, his marriage had seemed acceptable. But resentment springs up within him as soon as Zeena starts making her own decisions, even in something as trivial as hiring new domestic help. "There had never been anything in her that one could appeal to; but as long as he could ignore and command he had remained indifferent. Now she has mastered him and he abhorred her."[6]

In *Summer*, Charity is shown as a strong and wilful person. In Harney she finds someone who is better than herself. As their relationship progresses she does not feel in him any ascendency of character and this makes her feel stronger. Then there comes a time when she knows that she has in her power to make things hard for him. "She held his fate in her hands".[7] These references are indicative of a power struggle that has started between the two under the passionate surface of their union. Harney senses that it is only a matter of time when he will lose out to her. This sense of her supremacy causes him to reject her. Edith Wharton seems to be deliberately playing down the male figure. Her reasons could stem partly from her personal life, her own upbringing in a male dominated world, the difficulties she faced as a writer because she was a woman and the problems she had in her own marriage.

The sensitive creatures of Edith Wharton's fictional world long to escape from their day to day lives. Ethan longs to go away and seek out a new life for himself. Charity hates her present existence and feels that a brilliant future awaits her elsewhere. But the pull of the heritage is so strong, the hold of the environment is so deep, that no matter what happens, there is no escape for these creatures. Ehtan can never leave Zeena and Charity has to marry and settle down in her native North Dormer she once hated.

While writing these novels Edith Wharton had left her native country and had settled down in France. In these novels she seems to be looking back to the land of her birth, to the scene of New England society where the old American inheritance was very strong. She seems to point out the overwhelming factors of inheritance which destroy the little hope and brightness and potential proposals for progress which these two girls symbolise. Yet all is not lost. Within the novel *Summer* itself Edith Wharton seems to be offering some hope to all such people with similar longings. The novelist uses Lawyer Royall as her spokesman to convey a message for the defeated. At the Old Home Week ceremony he is asked to give a speech. He is addressing those men, like himself, who had left their homes to seek work outside but had failed and returned home. "Things they cannot foresee may send some of these young men back some day to the little township and the old homestead and they may come back for good... and not for bad or just for indifference... But the fact that we had failed elsewhere is no reason why we should fail here...well let me say this to you, that if you ever do come back to them it's worthwhile to come back to them for their good...... and even if you come back against your will.... and thinking it's all a bitter mistake of fate or providence..... you must try to make the best of it."[8].

It is through this speech of Lawyer Royall that Edith Wharton conveys her message of how best to approach life. She maintains that experience is necessary for a more complete life. But a bad experience must never let one feel let down. Whatever fate has in store for a person, it must be utilised to the maximum and the person should feel glad to have known just such an experience. Reason is speaking through the speech of Lawyer Royall and its logic appeals to the emotional nature of Mattie. It is ironical that a man is making this speech and women has to include this voice of reason in her vision of life. Charity does well to heed to it.

The defeated Charity and Mattie have to make the bitterest compromise. Their experiences have matured them. Mattie ends up being a criple but she has good nursing care and a permanent roof over her head in the Frome household. The threat of being out on the streets has been lifted but at great cost to the human emotions. Charity finally accepts Lawyer Royall's proposal of marriage. As Royall's wife, she will enjoy the position of being the wife of North Dormer's leading citizen and her baby will be given legal status as Royall's child. The final absolution comes from Charity herself. Returning home after their wedding ceremony he tells her "you're a good girl" to which she replies "I guess you're good too."[9] This union makes Charity more complete. Edith Wharton's woman does not display a negative feminism, the final picture includes man. The man's feminity has been tested and comes out with greater confidence in itself by accepting the man's role in the natural course of things.

NOTES

1. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of The Fair* (New York : Crown Publishers, 1984), p. 267.
2. Margaret Mc Dowell, *Contemporary Literature*, 15 (1974), p. 530.
3. Edith Wharton, *Summer* (1917; rpt. New York : Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 106.
4. Marilyn French, "Introduction", Edith Wharton, *Summer* (1917; rpt New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. XIVIII.
5. Wharton, *Summer*, p. 106.
6. Edith Wharton, *Ethan Frome* (1911; rpt. New York, Charles Scribners Sons, 1970), p. 118.
7. *Summer*, p. 218.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

DER EINFLUß VON C.G. JUNG AUF HERMANN HESSE UND SEINEN HELD AB "DEMIAN"

Amrit Mehta

Ab seinem 5. Roman "Demian", den Hesse Kurz nach dem ersten Weltkrieg unter dem Psydonym Emil Sinclair erscheinen ließ, findet man eine deutliche und zwar positive Wandlung bei Hesses Haltung zu seiner Umwelt, die sein Held freilich widerstrahlt. Wie es zu erkennen ist, wurde Hesse bei der Änderung seiner Weltanschauung von C.G. Jung sehr beeinflußt. Seine Psychotherapie bei Jungs Schüler Dr. J.B. Lang wirkte dabei unbestritten entscheidend. Von Juni 1916 bis November 1917 wurden von Hesse bei Dr. Lang etwa 60 psychoanalytische Sitzungen gemacht. Das war eine problematische Periode für Hesse, als die Gemütskrankheit senier Frau einen Aufenthalt in Heilanstalten erforderlich machte, sein Vater starb und sein dritter und jüngster Sohn Martin gefährlich erkrankt wurde.

Sein erstes großes Werk nach diesem Zeitpunkt wird daher von manchen als Versuch psychoanalytischer Deutung sozialer Ereignisse betrachetet. "Psychoanalytischen Studien gehören zur unmittelbaren Vorgeschichte des Werkes, dem es um eine Antwort auf einen möglichen Sinn des Kriegsgeschehens zu tun ist"[1] schreibt Waltraut Seifert in ihrer Dissertation über Hesse. Man kann auch in der Gestalt Pistorius den psycho-analytischen BeraterHesses erkennen. "Ich sehe selten Menschen, außer meinem alten Freund Dr. Lang (das ist der Pistorius im Demian), mit dem bin ich viel zusammen"[2] schrieb Hermann Hesse an Emmy und Hugo Ball in einem Brief. Demian erscheint in diesem Roman mehrmals als ein Archetyp, was der starke Einfluß von jungschen Gedanken auf dieses Werk bezeugt.

"..Jungs...Einfluß sich bei Hesse stärker bemerkbar macht als des Freud, wie groß des Dichters Bewunderung vor dem Gründer der psychoanalytischen Schule auch sein mag. Jung, der nicht im bloßen Erkennen des Unbewußten, oder dessen Bekämpfung durch willenvolles Handeln, sondern durch Bejahung der aus den

Tiefen der Seele aufsteigenden Flut von Trieben und Regungen Heil und Rettung sah, Jung hat das innere Leben des Dichters in den Kriegsjahren weitgehend beeingfluβt. Von ihm übernimmt Hesse die Lehre, daβ das Unbewuβte die Aufgabe hat, das zu eng gewordene Bewuβstein zu ergänzen, wieder weit zu machen".[3] Hesses wegen Konflikts mit seinen Eltern, der Schule, den Lehrmethoden, den Schwierigkeiten mit seinem unmittelbaren Leben angesichts geistigen Krankheit seiner Frau etc. zu eng gewordenes Bewuβtsein wurde dank der Psychoanalyse von der Erkenntnis des Unbewuβten so erweitert, daβ er sich entschloβ, seinen Bereich über seine persönliche Problematik auszudehnen. Aus dem Kreis der empirischen Persönlichkeit herausbrechend kam Hesse in die Gemeinschaft der Menschen hinein und widmete sein Schriftstellertum ihrer Dienste. Demian symbolisierte dieser Widmung im Dienst des Menschengeschlechts. Bei der Fusion des Bewuβtseins ins Unbewuβte versucht Hesse auch eine Einigung zwischen Gegensätzen zu bringen. Die Gegenpole oder "ich und mein anderes Ich" in den Romanen beginnend mit "Demian" deuten diese Versöhnung an, wobei der Konflikt zwischen den beiden wird am Ende synthesiert. Während der Konflikt zwischen den Gegenpolen in seinen früheren Romanen verschärft oder zu einem tragischen Ende führt, wird die Polemik zwischen Demian und Sinclair, Klein und Wagner, Siddhartha und Govinda, Harry Haller und Hermine, Narziβ und Goldmund und Joseph Knecht und Tegularius zu einer harmonischen Synthese geführt. Martin Pfeifer in seiner Dissertation "Hermann Hesses Kritik an Bürgertum" kommt zu der schluβfolgerung[4]: "Hesses Denken ist polarisch; dabei versucht er, stark von der Psychonalyse beeinfluβt, eine Versöhnung der Gegensätze."

Nach Jung kommt die dritte Stufe des Bewuβtseins, wann das Individuum die Zweiheit seiner Person gewahr wird :[5]

> Die kindliche Stufe des Bewuβtseins Kennt noch Keine Probleme, denn noch hängt nichts vom Subjekt ab, indem das Kind selber noch ganz von den Eltern äbhangt. Es ist, wie wenn es noch gar nicht völlig geboren, sondern noch in der seelischen Atmosphäre der Eltern getragen wäre. Die seelische Geburt und damit die bewuβte Unterscheidung

> von den Eltern erfolgt normalerweise erst mit dem Einbruch der Sexuälitat im Pubertätsalter. Mit dieser physiologischen Revolution ist auch eine geistige verbunden. Durch die körperlichen Erscheinungen wird nämlich das Ich in so hohem Maße betont, daß er sich oft ganz unverhältnismäßig zur Geltung bringt. Deher der Name "Flegeljahre"
>
> Bis zu dieser Epoche ist die Psychologie des Individuums wesentlich triebmäßig und daher unproblematisch. Auch wenn den subjektiven Trieben aüßere Schranken entgegenstehen, so bewirken diese Unterdrückungen keine Entzweiungen des Individuums mit sich selber. Es unterwirft sich oder umgeht sie, völlig eins mit sich selber. Es kennt die Selbstgestaltenheit des problematischen Zustand noch nicht. Dieser Zustand kann erst eintreten, wenn die äußere Schranke zu einer inneren wird, das heißt, wenn ein Trieb sich gegen den anderen auflehnt. Psychologisch ausgedrückt, wurde das heißen: der problematische Zustand, die innere Entzweiung tritt dann ein, wenn neben der Ichreihe eine zweite Inhaltsreihe von ähnlicher Intensität entsteht. Diese zweite Reihe ist wegen ihres energetischen Wertes von gleicher funktionaler Bedeutung wie der Ichkomplex, sozusagen ein anderes, zweites Ich, das gegebenfalls die Führung dem ersten sogar nehmen kann. Daraus geht die Entzweiung mit sich selbst, der problematische Zustand hervor.
>
> Werfen wir hier einen kurzen Rückblick auf das eben Gesagte: Die erste Bewußtseinsform, die des bloßen Erkennens, ist ein anarchischer order chaotischer Zustand. Die zweite, Stufe, nämlich die des ausgebildeten Ichkomplexes, ist eine monarchistische oder monistische Phase. Die dritte Stufe bringt wiederum ein bewußtseinsfortschritt, nämlich das Bewußtsein der Zweiheit, eines dualistischen Zustandes."

Die Psychoanalyse bei J.B. Lang half Hesse dabei, nicht nur sein zweites Ich wahrhaftig zu erkennen, sondern auch die Gegebenheiten positiv zu bewerten und sich mit dem problematischen Zustand zu verständigen. Die Gegensätze zwischen den beiden Reihen von Ich werden zur Versöhnung geführt, indem das zweite Ich von Hesse bzw. dem Held sich ins archetypische erste Ich assimillert, in das unproblematische Unbewußtsein, weil das Unbewußtsein Natur sei und"...insofern wir noch Natur sind.... leben (wir) in der Sicherheit des problemlosen Instinktes"[6] Die Jungsche Lehre von bewußtsein unterstützt nicht die Freudsche Theorie der Introspektion in Bezug auf kollektives Unbewußtsein. Der in sein Bewußtsein gekehrte Mensch kehrt nicht in seine private Sphäre zurück, um in seinem persönlichen Himmelshaus steckenzubleiben, sondern er entfaltet sich vielseitig, wird eins mit der Menschheit. "...so gelangt man aus der engen, dumpfen, persönlichen Atmosphäre in den weiten Bereich der kollektiven Psyche und in die gesunde, natürliche Matrix des menschlichen Geistes, d.h. in die Seele der Menschheit."[7] In der Sphäre des kollektiven Unbewußtsein entdeckt man seine "eigenen schöpferischen Kräfte" und "seine Verbundenheit mit der ganzen Menschheit."[8] Die embryonale Entwicklung des Menschen gleicht jener Zustand des Unbewußten, der "ein Zustand des völligen Verschmolzenseins mit den Umweltbedingungen"[9] ist.

Der Hauptgrund der Entfremdung Hesses von seiner Umwelt in seinen Frühjahren war sein seelischer Konflikt mit den strengen erzieherischen Methoden, zuerst in seinem Elternhaus und dann in der Schule. Jene Zwiespalt mit seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung quälte ihn lange, bis zu einem Zeitpunkt, wann er die Entzweiung in seiner Person ohne Makel bewerten konnte. Die mütterliche und dann die väterliche Psyche bestimme die früheste antigesellschaftliche Haltung Hesses wesentlich, was ihm auch krankhafte Störungen verursachte :[10]

> "Wie das Kind im embryonalen fast nicht anders ist als ein Teil des mütterlichen Körpers und ganz von dessen Zustand abhängt, so ist auch die frühinfantile Psyche gewissermaßen nur ein Teil der mütterlichen Pysche, bald auch wegen der gemeinsamen Atmosphäre, ein Teil der väterlichen Pysche. Der erste psychische Zustand ist ein Verschmolzensein mit der elterlichen Psychologie. Eine eigene Psychologie ist erst in Anfängen vorhanden. Daher kommt es, da die nervösen und psychischen

> Störungen der Kinder bis weit ins schulpflichtige Alter hinein sozusagen ausschließlich auf Störungen der psychischen Sphäre der Eltern beruhen."

Hesses Konflikt mit dem Elternhaus und der Schule widerspiegelt sich wiederholt in seinem Frühwerk, da er sich damals mit seinem zweiten Ich noch nicht abgefunden hatte. Es hatte tragische Auswirkung auf hesses Personlichkeit, daß er von einem pietistischen elterlichen Lebenskreis in die gefühlskalte Welt der empfindungslosen Schullehrer gedrängt wurde, deren wilhelmenische strenge Lehrmethoden die Seele mancher empfindsamen Kinder töteten. Der junge Hesse verabscheute die beieden autoritären Institutionen. Das Bewußtsein von den Eltern und der Schule ließ ihn lange Zeit nicht in Ruhe und er blieb von jenen ekligen Erinnerungen abhängig, die wiederum seine Weltanschauung und seine Schriftstellerarbeit bestimmten. C.G. Jung legte viel Wert darauf, da die Eltern und die Lehrer sich um die Überfuhrung des Kindes in die weitere Welt bemühen, damit das kind such nicht von seiner Umwelt entfremdet fühlt. Wie die psychoanalytische Behandlung bei J.B. Lang Hesse von seinem Eltern- und Schulkomplex befreite, wird aus dem folgenden Abschnitt aus einem Aufsatz von Jung Klar, worin er die ganze Problematik ausführlich behandelt und auch einen Ausweg aus der schwierigen Lage hindeutet :[11]

> Dies ist ein Ausdruck der primitiven Identität, aus welcher sich das Individualbewußtsein nur allmählich befreit. In diesem Befreiungskampf spielt die Schule keine geringe Rolle, ist sie doch das erste Milieu, welches das Kind außerhalb der Familie findet. Die Schulkameraden ersetzen ihm die Geschwister, der Lehrer den Vater, die Lehrerin die Mutter. Es ist nicht unwesentlich, da sich der Lehrer dieser Rolle bewußt ist. Er hat nicht nur einen gewissen Lehrstoff den Kindern schematisch einzupauken, sonder er hat auch durch seine Persönlichkeit auf die Kinder einzuwirken. Diese letztere Funktion ist mindestens ebenso wichtig wie die Lehrtätigkeit, wenn nicht noch wichtiger als diese, wenigstens in gewissen Fällen. Wenn es schon einerseits ein Unglück ist für ein Kind, keine elterliche Familie zu haben, so ist es andererseits auch wieder eine Gefahr für das Kind, zu fest an die Familie gekettet zu sein. Eine starke Bindung

an die Eltern bildet geradezu ein Hindernis für die spätere Anpassung an die Welt. Der heranwachsende Mensch ist aber für die Welt bestimmt und nicht dazu, stets ein Kind seiner Eltern zu bleiben. Es gibt nun leider sehr viele Eltern, die ihre Kinder stets als Kinder halten, weil sie selber nicht alt werden noch auf ihre elterliche Autorität und Macht verzichten wollen. Dadurch üben sie aber auf die Kinder einen höchst unheilvollen Einfluß aus, indem sie ihnen jede Gelegenheit zu individueller Verantwortlichkeit wegnehmen. Diese schädliche Methode erzeugt entweder unselbständige Menschen oder solche, die ihre Selbständigkeit nur auf Schleichwegen erzwingen können. Andere Eltern sind wiederum außerstande, infolge ihrer eigenen Schwäche, dem Kind jene Autorität entgegenzusetzen, deren es bedarf, um sich später in der Welt anpassen zu können. Der Lehrer hat daher als Persönlichkeit die delikate Aufgabe, einerseits keine unterdrückende Autorität auszuüben, andererseits aber eben gerade jenes gewisse Maß an Autorität darzustellen, das der erwachsenen und wissenden Persönlichkeit gegenüber dem Kinde zukommt. Künstlich kann auch mit der besten Absicht keine solche Einstellung hergestellt werden, sondern sie kann nur natürlicherweise dadurch zustandekommen, da der Lehrer als Mensch und als Bürger einfach seine Pflicht tut. Er muß selber ein rechter und ein gesunder Mensch sein; das ist die beste Lehrmethode, nämlich das gute Beispiel. Auch die vollkommenste Methode will nichts bedeuten, wenn der Mensch, der sie ausübt, nicht darüber steht vermöge des Wertes seiner Persönlichkeit. Es wäre ja etwas anderes, wenn es in der Schule nur darauf ankäme, den Kindern den Lehrstoff methodisch einzutrichtern. Das ist aber höchstens die halbe Bedeutung der Schule. Die andere Hälfte ist die wirkliche psychologische Erziehung, welche durch die Persönlichkeit des Lehrers vermittelt wird. Die Aufgabe dieser Erziehung ist, das Kind in die weitere Welt überzuführen und damit die elterliche Erziehung zu ergänzen. Letztere kann, auch wenn sie noch so sorgfältig ist, über eine gewisse Einseitigkeit nie hinauskommen, denn das Milieu bleibt immer dasselbe. Die Schule dagegen ist das erste Stück der wirklichen großen Welt, welche dem Kind entgegenkommt und ihm helfen soll, sich vom elterlichen Millieu in einem gewissen Grade abzulösen. Das Kind bringt natürlicherweise dem Lehrer eine Anpassungsart entgegen, die er Vom Vater gelernt hat; es projiziert sein Vaterbild auf ihn, wie man sich technisch auddrückt, mit der Tendenz, die Persönlichkeit des Lehrers dem Bild des Vaters zu assimilieren. Es ist daher nötig, da der Lehrer auch dem Kind persönlich entgegenkommt oder ihm wenigstens Gelegenheit gibt, einen persönlichen Zugang zu ihm zu finden. Wenn die persönliche Beziehung des Kindes zum Lehrer eine gute ist, so hat es wenig zu bedeuten, ob seine Lehrmethode dem modernsten Anforderungen entspricht oder nicht. Denn an der Methode liegt der Lehrererfolg nicht. Wie es ja auch gar nicht der ausschließliche Zweck der Schule ist, die Köpfe mit Wissen vollzupressen, sondern vielmehr, die Kinder zu wirklichen Menschen heranzubilden. Es kommt nicht darauf an, mit wieviel Wissen beladen einer aus der Schule tritt, sondern ob es der Schule gelungen ist, den jungen Menschen aus der unbewußten Identität mit der Familie herausgelöst und seiner selbst bewußt gemacht zu haben. Ohne dieses Bewußtsein seiner selbst wird er nie wissen, was er wirklich will, sondern er wird stets in Abhängigkeit bleiben und bloß nachahmen, mit dem Gefühl, verkannt und unterdrückt zu sein.

Die Lehrer waren in Hesses Zeit mit ihren Lehrmethoden besessen und taten alles in ihrer Macht, ihren Schülern das von ihnen zu vermittelnde Wissen beizubringen, ohne jenes persönliches Zuvorkommen, die aus den Schülern eine Persönlichkeit heranbildete, die sich später gut an die Außenwelt anpassen könnte. Die Lehrer erfüllten die Aufgabe nicht, das Kind aus der unbewußten Identität mit der Familie herauszulösen, sondern prägten auch ihre unmenschliche Person in seine Psyche ein, woraus sich manche empfindsame Kinder in ihrem späteren

Leben nicht herauslösen konnten. Hesse ist ein Beispiel, der unter der in seiner Kindheit von seinem Vater und seinen Lehrern in Empfang genommenen Qual litt. Endlich gelang es einem Lehrer in Gestalt Dr. J.B. Langs, ihn von seinem Bewußtsein des Elternhauses und der Schule zu befreien. In seiner methodischen Behandlung jagte Lang nicht nur Hesses versunkenen Kindheitserinnerungen nach, sondern machte ihn auch davon bewußt, nicht stets an jene quälenden Erinnerungen hängenzubleiben und sich von seinem seelischen Konflikt zu befreien.

Jung glaubte fest daran, daß um das Gute zu behalten Böses muß auch auf der Welt existieren; darum sollte man die Stimme eigenen Inneren hören und tun, was das Innere von dem Individuum verlangt. In einem Menschen existieren beide Wesensarten, Gutes sowie Böses. Keine von ihnen sollte unterdrückt werden. Die Stimme des Inneren ist höchstbedeutend bei dem Werden der Persönlichkeit. Das Gute sowie das Böse, beide haben einen relativen Wert, nur das pulsierende Leben kann entscheiden, welchen Wert das Karma eines Menschen trägt, die Geschichte mag dann später entscheiden, was für ein Resultat es hervorbringt. "Es gibt Zeiten in der Weltgeschichte (die unsere dürfte dazu gehören), wo ein Gutes weichen muß, und darum erscheint jenes, welches bestimmt ist, das Bessere zu werden, zünachst als Böses. Wie gefährlich es ist, diese Probleme nur zu berühren, zeigt der eben ausgesprochene Satz; denn wie leicht kann sich damit das Böse einschmuggeln, wenn es einfach erklärt, es sei eben das potentiell Bessere ! Die Problematik der inneren Stimme ist voll heimlicher Fanggruben und Fußnageln. Gefährlichstes, schlüpfrigstes Gebiet, genau so gefährlich und abwegig wie das Leben selber, wenn es auf Geländer verzichtet. Wer aber sein Leben nicht verzichten kann, wird es auch nicht gewinnen. Die Geburt des Helden und das Heldenleben ist eben immer bedroht. Die Schlangen der Hera, die den Säugling Herakles bedrohen, der Python, der die Geburt des Lichtgottes Apolli vernichten will, der bethlehemitische Kindermord sind typische Beispiele. Das Werden der Persönlichkeit ist ein Wagnis, und es ist tragisch, da gerade der Dämon der inneren Stimme höchste Gefahr und unerläßliche Hilfe zugleich bedeutet. Es ist tragisch, aber logisch. Es ist natürlicherweise so."[12]. Man kann seine Persönlichkeit, die eingeborene Eigenart seines besonderen lebenden Wesens nicht verwirklichen, ohne auf die Stimme des Inneren zu achten. Die eigene Entscheidung soll die Basis für die erfolgreiche Anpassung an das universal Gegebene sein. Der Respekt für das universal Gegebene ist der Grund für Jungs Bejahung des koptisch-gnostischen Gottes Abraxas, eines Symbols des Amalgams allen Guten und Bösen in den Menschen. Dieses Symbol wird von Hesse freilich in "Demian" gebraucht, das Emil Sinclairs Erwachen von der Unwissenheit verkörpert und ihn belehrt, sich in her weiten Welt anzupassen. Nach Jungs Doktrin sollte die Welt des Bösen wegen untergehen, damit sie einen neuen guten Anfang hat. Das Ende von "Demian" folgt dieser Linie und Jung fühlt sich damit bestätigt, was sein nach der Veröffentlichung von "Demian" an Hermann Hesse am 3.12.1989 geschriebener Brief dokumentiert : [13]

> Ihr Buch wirkte auf mich wie das Licht eines Leuchtturms in einer Sturmnacht. Ihr Buch hat ein bestmögliches Ende, nämlich da, wo alles Vorausgegangene auch wirklich ein Ende hat, und wo alles das wiederum beginnt, womit das Buch begonnen hat, nämlich mit der Geburt und dem Aufwachen des neuen Menschen.

Das Bild vom Sperber, der aus dem Ei kriecht, bedeutet in "Demian" das Hinausgehen in die Welt, während das Abschiednehmen Demians von Sinclair bedeutet das Eingehen Demians in Sinclair, das Eingehen eines Ichs in das andere Ich, was wiederum heißt: ein Weg nach Innen. Hesse glaubt damit, da einer, der seinen Weg nach Innen nicht weiß und die Stimme des Inneren nicht hört, ist auch nicht fähig, sich an die Außenwelt anzupassen. Der Weg nach Innen befreit den Menschen von abkömmlichen Hemmungen, aber er wird auch den Trieb zur Liebe, zur sexuellen-erotischen Betätigung, zum Haß und zur Mordsucht als menschlich anerkennen, was ohnehin menschlich ist. Auf diesen tritt der neue Held von Hesse, um sein Selbst zu verwirklichen und um eins mit seiner Mitwelt zu werden. Des Autors in seinem Unbewußtsein verdrängte Kindheitskomplexe werden in diesem Roman ins Bewußtsein gehoben. Der auf der dritten Stufe seines Bewußtseins gelangte Autor befreit sich von jenen

Komplexen durch seinen verjüngten Held.

Der Gedanke von der Wiedergeburt eines neuen Menschen, dem Beginn einer neuen Welt wird in "Klein und Wagner" weitergeführt. wobei der Tod von Klein ist ein Schritt in das neue Leben. Kleins gesellschaftliche Problematik ist tief psychologisch, wobei er die Welt als krank erklärt und in Gestalt Wagners versucht, in die Wirklichkeit zurückzukehren. Er erkennt endlich, da er die Stimme seines Inneren, sei es gut oder böse, hören muß ."Selbst Gott ist gut und böse. Klein zugleich Wagner."[14]

Die von "Demian" bis "Narziß und Goldmund" zunehmende Aufwertung der Sinnlichkeit ist soeben ein Zeichen von einem sich von seinen Kindheitskomplexen befreienden Autor, der die Stimme des Inneren hört und draußen in die weite Welt hineingeht. In "Narziß und Goldmund" kann Narziß auch für ein Sinnbild von Dr. J.B. Lang gehalten werden, der den zigeunerhaften Goldmund zu einer seßhaftigen Existenz zu führen weiß.

Obwohl C.G. Jung nicht viel von einer Gesellschaft hielt, die die kollektive Stimme eines Volkes durch ein Individuum bzw. mehrere Individuen in der Gestalt einer kommunistischen Staatsform oder einer Religionsgemeinschaft bzw. der Kirche repräsentiert, aber ein Individuums Anschluß an die menschliche Gesellschaft lag ihm am Herzen. In einem Brief an seinen guten Freund Miguel Serrano, einen ehemaligen chilenischen Botschafter in Neu-Delhi schrieb C.G. Jung :[15]

> ...As nobody can become aware of his individuality unless he is closely and responsibly related to his fellow beings, he is not withdrawing to an egoistic desert when he tries to find himself. He can only discover himself when he is deeply and unconditionally related to some, and generally related to a great many, individuals with whom he has a chance to compare, and from whom he is able to discriminate himself. If somebody in supreme egoism should withdraw to the solitude of Mt. Everest, he would discover a good deal about the amenities of his lofty abode, but as good as nothing about himself, i.e. nothing he could not have known before...

Eine intime und verantwortungsvolle Beziehung mit den Mitmenschen deutet unverzweifelt auf ein verantwortungsbewußtes 'vita activa'. Nichtstun oder Apathie betrachtet er als ein unnatürliches und unmenschliches Phänomen. Sein ist Werden und Tun, sondern gäbe es kein sinnvolles Sein. Der Sinn vom Leben bestehe im 'Tun'. Das Individuum müsse aus seinem Egoismus herauskommen und aktiv werden. In demselben Brief an Serrano erklärt Jung sein Konzept vom Aktivsein :[16]

> To be is to do and to make. But as our existence does not depend solely upon our Ego-will, thus our doing and making depends largely upon the dominant of the unconscious. I am not only willing out of my Ego, but I am also made to be creative and active. To be quiet is only good for someone who has been too or perversely active. Otherwise it is an unnatural artifice, which unnecessarily interferes with our nature. We grow up, we blossom and we wilt; and death is ultimate quietude — or so it seems. But much depends upon the spirit, i.e. the meaning or significance, in which we do and make or — with another word — we live.

C.G. Jung war ein Lehrer für Hesse, dessen Bild ganz verschieden von jenen Lehrern war, die Hesse in seiner Kindheit gekannt hatte. Hesses Psychoanalyse bei seinem Schüler Dr. J.B. Lang zeigte ihm einen neuen Weg und ein neues Bewußtsein in die Liebe, in die Sinnlichkeit, in das 'vita activa', in die Gesellschaft, und damit wandelte auch das Bild seines Heldes, der sich an die Gesellschaft besser anpassen kann und sie nicht mehr scheut.

SCHRIFTTUM

1. Seifert, Waltraut:Künstler und Gesellschaft im Prosawerk Hermann Hesses (Diss.), Leipzig, 1956, S.59.
2. Hesse, Hermann:Kurzgefaßter Lebenslauf aus "Materialien zu Hermann Hesses "Der Steppenwolf", Frankfurt a.M., 1973, S.63.
3. Kunze, J.:Lebensgestaltung und Weltanschauung in Hermann Hesses "Siddhartha", Malmberg, 1946, S.20.
4. Pfeifer, Martin:Hermann Hesses Kritik an Burgertum (Diss.), Jena, 1952, S.79.
5. Das C.G. Jung Lesebuch:ausgewählt von Franz Alt, Olten, 1983, S.148f.
6. ebenda, S.145.

7. *ebenda,* S.51 .
8. *ebenda,* S.50 .
9. *ebenda,* S.106 .
10. *ebenda,* S.132 .
11. *ebenda,* S.109ff .
12. *ebenda,* S.142 .
13. nach Hermann Hesse, Eine Werkgeschichte, zusammengestellt von Siegfried Unseld, Frankfurt am Main, 1973, S.61 .
14. *ebenda,* S.77 (Klabund in "die Neue Rundschau, 1920).
15. Serrano, Miguel:C.G. Jung and Hermann Hesse: A Record of two friendships, London, 1977, S.83.
16. *ebenda,* S.87 .

MOUCHETTE

Gunita Randhawa

Le Cinéma, selon Bresson "n'est pas un spectacle, c'est une écriture, une écriture par laquelle on essaie de s'exprimer, de traduire en images et en sons des faits vécus par un personnage..."; un film correspond en tous points à une oeuvre d'art. Pour lui, le cinématographe est un moyen de création.. et Mouchette est un des témoins valables de la fécondité et l'originalité de ce créateur, cet auteur.

En traitant le roman de Bernanos-un peu comme une matière première, il a mis au point un chef-d' oeuvre à partir d'un autre chef-d' oeuvre. Pourtant, en ne se contentant pas de trouver des équivalences, il a créé une oeuvre autonome. Il a repris seulement less grandes lignes de l'intrigue, il s'est limité à mettre en lumière les moments cruciaux de la vie de Mouchette son viol par Arsène et la mort de sa mère. Nous ne savons rien de son passé, mais avec quelques touches légères de courts plans.. il a réussit à traduire l'atmosphère opprimante de sa vie, l'impression d' écrasement monotone et routinier.

Il ne fait pas appel à l'acteur professionnel. Il considère que le jeu de la vedette manque de naturel qu'il se calque sur le jeu théâtral qui implique une technique spécifique. Il déguise sa personnalité sous le masque du personnage qu'il interprète - donc nous donne d'un être humain une image trop simple - pas dépeint la complexité de l'homme. Ses acteurs ne jouent pas. Il demande à ses interprètes d'être eux-mêmes en se pliant à une stricte discipline, c'est-à-dire en s' accoutumant aux gestes les plus naturels, à la non-mobilité du visage et à un ton spécifique. Donc, il évite d'attirer inutilement l'attention du spectateur et accentue le caractère tragique de l'atmosphère.

La non-mobilité du visage caractérise sa volonté de canaliser l'émotion afin de mieux la faire sortir. Un visage immobile contient un potentiel émotionnel - le visage de Mouchette .. tordu par la jalousie quand elle voyait la jouissance des autres filles; crispé par la souffrance au moment où elle réalise que sa mère est morte; défiguré par la haine pour les voisins curieux. Les émotions montrées spontanément—l' instant de plaisir pendant la foire, et l'instant d'humiliation pendant le cours d'école brisent passagèrement 'ce masque permanent d'un destin'.

Le ton des interprètes n'est ni privé d'expression ni sans intonation, mais un ton aplani - une sorte de monologue intérieur. Les nuances sont soulignées planement - la haine pour son père quand elle le traite de 'salaud'; les voisins, 'charogne', 'vieille taupe'—la menace dans le ton de Mathieu quand il jure de se venger sur Arsène.

La "dédramatisation" garde la tonalité d'ensemble du film. Avec l'utilisation habile de quelques plans symboliques, il a réussi à mettre en lumière les moments cruciaux du film - l'orage dans le monde physique présage les événements bouleversants qui vont se dérouler dans la vie de Mouchette; le déchirement de la robe légère communique au spectateur une certaine mesure de la rupture complète de la teneur ordinaire de sa vie; le lapin—proie impuissant des chasseurs essaie de dépeindre Mouchette prise au piège dont il y a un unique moyen de libération - la mort.

Ces fondements les plus aisément observables de l'esthétique de Bresson, peuvent être caractérisés par les notions classiques; refus de l'effet, souci de rigueur, puissance de la suggestion. Pour atteindre l'oeuvre d'art il suggère l' essentiel en éliminant systématiquement l'accessoire, l'anecdotique, en resserrant les noeuds de l'action.

Il n'a pas succombé à la tentation des "effets" trop visibles, il a su parfaitement mettre au point un éclairage diffus et de très précis jeux d'ombre et de lumière - ainsi l'éclairage pendant les vilaines activités de son père - la contrebande; et la scène de l'orage.

La partition musicale souligne la progression dramatique - le jazz- la musique moderne à la foire met l'accent sur la vie palpitante cheg Mouchette;-le tintement de cloches d'église marque la sobriété; et la simplicité de la symphonie de Mozart met en lumière la fin naturelle du film. L'air religieux, chanté par Mouchette met en relief les contortions des souffrances atroces d'Arsène.

Le rythme même du film va de pair avec le déroulement des événements ... rapide au début (les premières séquences comportent de nombreuses scènes et celles-ci comprennent elles-mêmes de nombreux plans), il se ralentit ensuite pour devenir très lent à la fin, au moment de la mort de Mouchette. Le choix des plans - plans moyens ou plans demi-ensemble .. cherche à concentrer l'attention du spectateur sur Mouchette—son intransigeance, sa solitude, son incommunicabilité (seule parmi une foule de filles).

Elle connaît, en effet, la dure oppression provoquée par la prison extérieure (son monde limité’ “encadré” il évoque quelques lieux - la maison, l’école et parfois le café) et la prison intérieure (l’aliénation suscitée par l’indifférence, le mépris et l’hostilité des autres).

La bande sonore donne plus de poids à l’image - le battement des ailes du coq de bruyère, le tintement des cloches d’église, les dialogues concis et nets - ajoute à la force sobre, à la simplicité éloquente.

Méthodique et minutieux, Bresson a un sens aigu de la perfection artistique. Il estime qu’une image ne doit pas s’imposer par elle-même; que c’est sa place parmi les autres images qui doit lui conférer son relief;-c’est-à-dire ces images sont neutres et que tout à coup juxtaposées, elles vibrent, la vie y fait irruption. Il tend à isoler d’un ensemble un élément tout en négligeant les autres (nous ne voyons jamais ni toute la chambre de sa mère, ni le café entier). Les images, les gestes sont stylisés - la merveilleuse photographie des mains au début ... quand Arsène dresse un piège à coq de bruyère.

Il ne décritjamais le monde extérieur lui-même, mais sert de cadre à l’action extérieure. Le monde est plus suggéré que décrit - en dehors des portes de l’école et dans le café.

Avec autant de patience que de rigueur, il a mis au point un univers, une esthétique et une vision du monde profondément irréductibles. Il s’efforce d’intérioriser son personnage principal; tente de filmer sa lutte avec lui-même. La délivrance de Mouchette s’accomplit dans la mort solitaire - donc il suggère très bien le don de la mort dans la misère.. un moyen de la Liberté et de la grâce.

Sur le plan des sentiments comme celui de l’art cinématographique, la fin de Mouchette est d’une admirable beauté - l’étendue d’eau est vue en faible plongée. Travelling avant en plongée jusqu’à ce que Mouchette soit cadrée, et faible plongée de nouveau fixe sur la surface troublée de l’eau. Cependant, il n’essaie pas de faire de belles images, mais des images nécessaires. Pour lui, l’image est comparable au mot dans la phrase .. et c’est le mot plus courant, le plus employé qui.. parce qu’il est en place, prendre tout à coup un éclat extraordinaire. Par un jeu d’échanges et de contacts entre l’éclairage et l’ombre, il sculpte des idées dans un visage. Il s’exprime cinématographiquement comme un poète par la plume. Le film *Mouchette* porte l’empreinte d’un maître.

LISTENING COMPREHENSION & COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Gyan Verma

A child discovers the structure of his native language through constant situational audio exposure to it. He cannot remember the infinite set of sentences he hears. He unconsciously imbibes and masters a finite set of structural principles controlling syntactic possibilities, in accordance with which words can be combined to form meaningful sentences. This linguistic competence enables him to generate grammatical sentences himself as well as detect ungrammaticalities occuring in his own or others' utterances. In this 'species distinctive'[1] task, he is helped by two factors—his in-built capacity for language acquisition aided by audio-exposure. Human infants inherit a biologically determined ability to acquire and use a language. But they do not inherit any particular language. There is no 'biological preconditioning'[2] to acquire any one language. A child learns the language of those with whom he is brought up in infancy and early childhood. And the whole of this language learning is through the auditory channel. He learns the language that is spoken around him and to which he is aurally exposed. The basic role of listening in the language acquisition process has long since been unquestionably established. 'Audio-exposure to language during a certain maturational period is a minimum requirement for language acquisition'.[3]

In L_2 situation, where unperceived language acquisition is replaced by a conscious, controlled and guided process of language learning, listening plays an equally meaningful and effective role. Despite the fact that he has a less flexible articulatory system, the young adult[4] who has crossed the first few years of life when language is effortlessly imbibed, is greatly helped by listening in his L_2' learning. Sentences which are actually the concrete manifestations of abstract structures are heard and their image is held in short-term memory. In time, the abstractions—the sequence of grammatical structural constituents—are retained and the actual sentences may even be forgotten. The pace at which a learner learns L_2 is in proportion to his audio-exposure to the language. The process of second language learning is comparatively slow because environmental auditory re-inforcement is inadequate. Whenever this factor is taken care of, learning pace is positively affected.

Learning a language is not simply a matter of acquiring a certain level of linguistic competence in it. Whatever the situation, L_1 or L_2, the ability to generate grammatically correct sentences is a stage, rather a means and not the end of language learning. Language is not so much a body of knowledge as a complex of skills: listening, speaking, reading, writing i.e. skills of comprehension and expression.[5] It is the process of engaging in language activities. Language is not merely to be looked upon in terms of its structures but also in terms of the communicative functions that it performs. The structural view must be related with the functional view to achieve a complete communicative perspective about language. The learner must develop the awareness that just as a single linguistic form can express a number of functions so also can a single communicative function be performed by a number of linguistic forms. To use language functionally, he must be able to select the situationally appropriate linguistic form from the total store of linguistic forms which he possesses and which constitute his linguistic competence. The broad domains of skill which make up a person's communicative competence have been summed by Littlewood[6] from the speaker's perspective as follows :—

- The learner must attain as high a degree as possible of linguistic competence. That is he must develop skill in manipulating the linguistic system to the point where he can use it spontaneously and flexibly in order to express his intended message.
- The learner must distinguish between the forms which he has mastered as part of his linguistic competence, and the communicative functions, that they perform.
- The learner must develop skills and strategies for using language to communicate meanings as effectively as possible in concrete situations.
- The learner must become aware of the social meaning of language forms.

Why from the speaker's perspective, one might like to know. Does communication involve a speaker alone ? Is all communication oral in form ?

To take up the second query first, the two media or substances used by natural languages as vehicles for communication are—air disturbed by the movements of articulation and marks made on a flat surface by chisel, writing brush, pen, pencil etc. These two modes of linguistic communication, speech and writing, virtually exhaust the field. The languages of the major areas of civilisation in the world are both written and spoken i.e. a system of writing and a system of speaking are recognisable and recognised as 'the same language'. But many languages are spoken languages only for which no system of writing has been devised. Thus the only universal medium of linguistic communication among all normal human beings is speech.[7] Moreover human languages have developed through the millennia in which mankind has existed on earth as a separate species, through the medium of speech. All human language and everything in human life that depends on language rests ultimately on the distinguishable noises that humans are able to make out of the passage of air through the throat, nose and mouth. The universal medium of communication is speech and thus the approach from the speaker's perspective.

Now the first question : does communication involve a speaker alone ? Does the communicative situation not include a listener too ? A speaker can use language to perform three functions—ideational, interpersonal and textual.[8] And by so doing, the speaker performs certain speech acts[9], illocutionary acts[10] or rhetorical acts[11] in social and persoal situations. Evidently, the situations involve listener or listeners too. In fact a listener is an essential participant in an oral communication situation. If the speaker encodes the message from its semantic representation to phonological representation[12] it is the listener who decodes the message by moving from phonological to semantic level of representation and completes the channel of communication. All speech situations are thus as much listening comprehension situations otherwise one would be speaking in vacuo.[13] Further if one were to agree with Grace de Laguna,[14] in that 'men do not speak simply to relieve their feelings or to air their views, but to awaken a response in their fellows and to influence their attitudes and acts', one would find that in a communication situation, the speaker and the listener are constantly interchanging their roles. Communication situation is not always a monosyllabic Yes/No response situation. More often than not, the initial remark merely onsets the process of arousing a reaction, inviting a response, a comment and these in turn necessiate it to become an ongoing process. The entire process of communication is controlled by and depends upon the listening comprehension ability of the participants. Duration, furthering and success or sudden disruption of any oral communication situation is a matter of the listening comprehension ability of individuals involved in the speech situation. The function and purpose of speech and language is achieved in proportion to the listening comprehension skill that the participants command. Failure on the part of the listener in propositional identification or understanding the attitude of the speaker can end up in a deeply frustrating situation bringing communication to a stand still. So, one needs to revise the earlier remark : all speech situations are not *as much* listening comprehension situations; all speech situations are *essentially* listening comprehension situations. If communicative competence is the ability to manipulate the linguistic system of a language to express one's intended message, orally, more than that, it is the skill to effectively identify and interpret the message aurally.

There is no denying the fact that a major part of immediate human communication is conducted through the medium of speech. But in time the information is preserved in the written form of language, to be passed on to those not present on the scene of action. So the importance of the written form in terms of the preservation and advancement of human civilization and culture cannot be ignored. Though comparatively recent in origin, the written form of communication, too, deserves attention in the context of human communicative competence. The usual practice is to pair listening with speech and reading with writing as skills of reception and skills of production. The logic advanced for treating them as separate sets is that while the first functions through the medium of sound the second uses the graphic medium for purpose of communication. This explains the existence of expressions like listening comprehension and reading comprehension on one side and speech production and written production on the other.

But does there really exist such rigid demarcation between the two pairs in the field of psycholinguistics ? Can the written form content be comprehended only through reading ? Isn't some sort of listening involved in the reading comprehension process as well ? This necessitates knowing the nature of the reading task[15] Reading is an activity made up of a large number of skills of both motor and cognitive kind. In the early stages, learning to read is very largely a matter of transferring the competence in language—already acquired through the spoken mode—into a different mode of performance. Thus reading becomes the activity of reconstructing a reasonable spoken message from a printed text.[16] But before the reader can structure the message, he has to acquire the ability to recognise written characters for what they are. Venezky[17] divides this single stage into the phases (skills) of task awareness, relating oral language to the printed page and decoding. Of these, the second phase i.e. relating oral language to the printed page deserves attention in the present context. This relation is based on the belief that there is a systematic connection between the reader's speech and the written language. The reader associates phonemes with letters or group of letters and mentally establishes the phoneme-grapheme correspondence. And when he reads a text, he actually 'sounds out' the sequence of letters. This logically leads us to the conclusion that the process of reading itself involves a 'phonics strategy'.[18] This also explains why some people resort to loud reading. In so doing, it appears, they not only see the sounds in the letters, they also hear them. This audio-visual input of the sequence of phoneme-grapheme pairs then promotes the structuring of the message. In silent reading, the physically audible sounds are replaced by mentally audible sounds because the reader must continually relate sound and letter in applying the 'phonics strategy'.

The analysis of the nature of the reading task reveals that even reading involves some kind of listening activity, wherein the reader (speaker) addresses himself. He himself is present at both the ends of the communication channel. It is a unique listening situation. The speaker is sometimes loud and sometimes silent but all the same can hear himself. What has been said about memory, meaning and comprehension in the context of listening becomes applicable to reading also once reading activity is looked upon initially as a listening activity. When a sentence is heard it can be recalled with complete precision, only for a very short duration of time. During this time, memory seems to function like an 'echo box', so that we can even recall its original intonation. After sometime we remember its sense rather than its syntax. So when reading is done loudly or silently, audible and inaudible sound sequences (words) are echoed by the short-term memory. It is during this short interval that the processing of meaning and restructuring of the written message is done. There is good evidence that verbal material is represented in acoustic form in short-term memory even when it is visually presented (Conrad 1964)[19]. This may also happen with sentences, at least until they are interpreted.[20] If the verbal material is represented in the short-term memory in acoustic form, it must be organised there in terms of its propositional constituents, in the same way as the heard material. What naturally follows is that reading comprehension is dependent upon listening comprehension for the processing of the graphic material. Thus listening activity seems to be involved in both types of skills—motor as well as cognitive — in the reading activity. Though reading situation is not essentially a listening situation—it evidently cannot be—yet the contribution of the listening skill at the initial stage of input and retention — interpretation in reading comprehension cannot be ignored.

While speaking of communication, it will not be out of place to consider the situation of quiet speech. In the audible speech situation, the participants in the communication situation are aided by a shared linguistic code, stress, pitch and intonation patterns in interpreting the propositional and modal meaning of the discourse. Reading is 'speak unto thyself' situation and thus has its own advantages. Compared to these, quiet speech is a peculiar communicative situation. Quiet speech is not whispering though both are phonetically similar in that there is absence of voicing (Robins). The second participant has to depend upon his ability to interpret paralinguistic features of communication to understand quiet speech. This situation involves both reading as well as listening skill. The active participant has not only to read and interpret the expression on the face and in the eyes but also keep an alert ear for hesitation markers, false starts, certain non-verbal exclamations that inadvertantly escape the quiet participant. Sometimes breathing pace can also be indicative of the state of mind (e.g. excitement indicated by quick breathing). A co-ordination of the two may not suggest the actual utterance suppressed by the quiet participant but help the interpreter reach the meaning components and probable deep structure of the utterance. The ice is broken with a tag question which sets the ball rolling and the situation becomes a normal speech situation. No doubt the quiet speech situation presupposes a certain level of informality, intimacy and confidentiality between the two but once it is gradually converted into a speech situation, it becomes a listening comprehension situation.

Thus one can conclude that for successful participation in communicative situations — oral, written or even quiet speech—listening comprehension ability is an essential requirement. The ability to listen and understand is a physical task followed by a sequence of cognitive tasks. Unless one proceeds from listening to comprehension, communication is not carried out in completion. The phonological sequence is received through the auditory channel and its image is held in short term memory where an attempt is made not only to organise it into constituents but also to identify the content and functions of these constituents. These identified constituents are used to construct propositions which are grouped together to form a coherent message. This propositional meaning is passed on to long-term memory.[21] It is this grasping of the propositional meaning that arouses a response, a reaction or comment which in turn furthers the channel of communication. Failure at listening comprehension so often spells failure in communication that it appears listening comprehension and communicative competence are not only inseparably linked but that the communicative competence is largely controlled by the listening comprehension.

REFERENCES

1. Ronald W. Langacker, Language and its structure. Harcourt. Brace and World Inc. 1968.
2. R.H. Robins, General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey. Longman 1980.
3. Ronald W. Langacker, Language and its structure. Harcourt. Brace and World Inc. 1968.
4. Herbert H. Clark & Eve V. Clark, Psychology and Language : Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich. New York 1977.
5. Preparing to Teach English.
6. William Littlewood, Communicative Language Teaching An Introduction CUP.
7. Robins, General Linguistics : An Introductory Survey. Longman.
8. M.A.K. Halliday, Language Structure and Language Function in New Horizons in Linguistics. Edited by John Lyons. Pelican.
9. John R. Searle, Speech Acts OUP.
10. J.L. Austin, How to do things with words. OUP.
11. H.G. Widdowson, Science & Technology in a Second Language CILT Reports & Papers 7. Dec. 1971.
12. Geoffrey Leech, Semantics. Pelican.
13. M.A.K. Halliday, New Horizons in Linguistics. Edit. John Lyons. Pelican.
14. Grace de Laguna, Speech : its Function and Development.
15. Alan Davies & H.G. Widdowson, Reading & writing in the Edinburgh course in Applied Linguistics Vol. 3 OUP.
16. J.B. Carroll, Language & Thought. Prentice Hall 1964.
17. R.L. Venezky, English orthography : its graphical structure and its relation to sound. Reading Research Quarterly 1967. No. 3.

18. Alan Davies & H.G. Widdowson, Reading & writing in the Edinburgh course in Applied Linguistics Vol. 3 OUP.

19. R. Conrad, Acoustic Confusions in Immediate Memory. British Journal of Psychology. 1964.

20. P.N. Johnson-Laird, The perception and Memory of Sentences in New Horizons in Linguistics. Edit : John Lyons. Pelican.

21. Herbert H. Clark & Eve V. Clark, Psychology and Language : Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich. New York 1977.

PRONOMINALIZATION IN TIBETO HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES

D.D. Sharma

The linguistic phenomenon termed as 'Pronominalization' is a widely practised morphological feature of Munda, Dravidian and Tibeto-Himalayan languages of this sub-continent. It takes place in two ways, (i) Nominal pronominalization and (ii) Verbal pronominalization. In the former type short forms of personal pronouns, as prefixes, are added before a governing noun in order to repeat the governed genitive, and in the latter type abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns, acting as a subject or the object of a verb, are prefixed, suffixed or infixed in the verb form itself to denote the particular person as the subject or the object of the verb concerned. In this paper, however, we shall confine ourselves to indicate the forms and functions of this feature in Tibeto-Himalayan languages only, which may, briefly, be presented as follows :

Nominal Pronominalization : It is a very common feature of Munda languages. In these the pronominal suffixes are prefixed in lower Munda, and suffixed and infixed in others. There these may be used in full or abridged forms or may be represented by some other particles. Besides, the use of pronominalized nouns is attested in Dravidian languages as well, but in them the personal and demonstrative pronouns are suffixed to the oblique forms of the primary nouns.

This feature of linguistic expressions, in a way, reflects the world view of its speakers about the various objects of the universe. The underlying concept of the speakers of the language in the use of a personal pronoun, in its full, abridged or symbolic forms, with a noun in the genitive case, is this that in this world every thing is possessed by some one or the other. According to these, all possessed things are grossly divided into three categories, viz. kins (father, mother etc.), limbs or part of different animate and inanimate bodies, (such as head, hand, legs, tail, horns, branches, handles etc.) and the articles of material culture, (such as house, field, animals etc.). But now-a-days, even in Munda, the practice of using these pronominal possessors for every noun is not adhered to so rigidly. However, with reference to important kinship terms, this phenomenon is definitely attested in almost all Munda languages and in Tibeto Himalayan languages of complex pronominalized group.

In the Ganjam dialect of Soara, however, every noun stands in relation to some one or some thing, i.e. to me/us, to thee/you, to he/she/it/they, to a third person or persons or to another thing or things. According to S. Bhattacharya (1975:167) they cannot think of a person or a thing without its relation to some thing or some body else or its being possessed by some one or some thing, e.g. in ***Bonda*** if some one has to say 'feather' one must specify the possessor of it as well, as in *bile ? -kum* pea-cock's feather, *bile* ? pi ? bird's feather, *bile ? Sing* hen's feather, etc. Similarly, *ne-iyang* my mother, *pe-yyang* your mother; ***(Ho**—apu-n* my/our father, *apu-m* your father, *pau-te* his father; ***Santali**— apu-n* my/our father, *apu-m* your father, *apu-t* his father, *met'-me* your eye, *jang-ga-me* your leg, *mocha-me* your mouth; ***Parengi**—bab-ning* my/our head, *bab-doi* his/her/its head, etc. ***Korowa**—mes-em* your (sg.) elder sister, *mes-eing* my elder sister, *mes-to* his/her (etc.) elder sister.

Among the languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group this feature is, however, attested among the Kiranti dialects of eastern Nepal, some of which are spoken in Sikkim and Darjeeling as well. The most prominent of them is Limbu which is spoken in all the areas mentioned above. Besides Limbu, it is attested in Khambu, Yakha, Bahing, Rai etc., as well. Some of the examples of this linguistic feature, attested in these languages, may be illustrated as under :

Limbu:Limbu, the native tongue of the Limbus of Nepal, Darjeeling and Sikkim, prominently exhibits this feature for all the three persons of the personal pronouns. In this the short forms of the pronominal prefixes are attested as-*a*-my', *k'* thy, *ku*-his/her/its. For instance, *ā-sā-* my son; *k' -sā* thy son; *ku-sā* his/her son, *ānā ā-lagi* for my sake (lit. I-my-sake-for), *khune-ku-lagi* for his sake. In these contructions, morphophonemically, a nasal consonant is inserted, if it is followed by a plosive consonant, e.g. *ku-n-gūwā* his mother's brother; *ā-m-pā/ām-bā* my father, *ku-m-bhangā* his father's younger brother, etc.

Khambu : The linguistic area of Khambu is the same as for Limbu. The abbreviated pronominal elements of it are *-o*-my, *am-thy, om-, um-, am-* his/her. In this dialect, too, these are prefixed to the noun possessed by them, e.g. *o-mi-o-hai* my share (lit. me-of-my-share); ***o-mi-o*** khet his field (lit. him of his-field); ***ām-mi-ām-chhā*** thy son (lit. thee of -thy son), ***o-bongkā uchhā*** my uncle's son (lit. my uncle his son). The full forms of these shortened forms are — *o* < *o-mi* my, *am* < *am-mi* thy, om/um < kho-mi his.

Yakha : Yakha is another constituent of the eastern pronomalized group which exhibits the phenomenon of nominal pronominalization. In this the abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns with the meaning of possessive pronouns are ā-my, *in-,un-thy, i-,u* his. The full forms of these shortened pronominal prefixes are as *ā<āgā* my, *in/un-<ingā, ungā*, thy, *i-/u<igā, ugā* his. Thus, *ā-pā* my father, *om-bā, um-bā* thy father, *i-pā* his father; *u-gā i-pā-ngā* by his father (lit him -of-his-father-by); *ā-gā ā-phā-ngā chiya* my uncle's son (lit. me-of-my-uncle-son); etc.

Bahing : Bahing, one of the dialects of Khambu, also exhibits the feature of pronominalization, e.g. *ā-pā* my father, *ā-po* his father, *ā-mā my mother, ā-mo* his mother. In this the full forms of these pronominal prefixes are *ā* < *wāke* my, *i* < *ike* your, *ā* < *āke* his etc.

Rai : Rai is another dialect of this group which attests these pronominal features for all the personal pronouns. e.g. *o* < *o-po* my, *wā<wā-po* my, ā<*ā-po* thy, *u<um-po* his; thus *o-nga-si -hām* my companions, *āp-po ā-wā* your brother, *um-po u-chu* his son, etc. (cf. LSI Vol. III Pt.-I).

From the above illustrations it may be evident that the personal pronouns which are translated as possessive in English or I.A. languages are often put in the nominative in case of these prefixes or suffixes.

It may, however, be pointed out that the feature of nominal pronominalization, is not attested in any dialect of the western pronominalized group of languages. As such this can be taken up as a criterian for the classification of the Tibeto-Himalayan group as a whole.

Verbal Pronominalization : The phenomenon of distinguishing the person of the subject, sometimes of the object as well, by means of pronominal affixes (prefixes, infixes and suffixes) is, like Munda, found in almost all the pronominalized languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group.

It was perhaps in 1847 that the morphological feature of affixing a pronominal element in the verb form as the indicator of the subject or the object of the verb was indicated and clearly documented for the first time by Mr. Hodgson, B.H. in his article on the Aborigins of the Sub-Himalayas (JASB Vol. xvi pt. ii, 1847). He was followed by Sten Konow, the editor of the Tibeto-Burman section of the 'Linguistic Survey of India' (Vol. III, Pt. I. 1908). who took it as one of the creteria for sub-grouping the languages of the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Burman family of this sub-continent.

Although the feature of verbal pronominalization, besides Munda, is attested in Dravidian languages as well, but Konow, on the basis of the existence of many other co-features regarded it as a result of Munda sub-stratum of these Tibeto-Himalayan languages of India and Nepal.

Further, taking a cue from Sten Konow, Grierson (LSI, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 56-57) made it a criterian for grouping and re-grouping of all the languages of Tibeto-Burman family spoken in India, Nepal and Bhutan. Firstly, he divides them into two groups, viz. Tibetan and Himalayan, then the Himalayan group is again divided into groups of non-pronominalized and pronominalized languages. In these groupings the dialects spoken in central and eastern Nepal, and further to the east in Sikkim and Bhutan and in the areas bordering on Western Tibet were placed in the non-pronominalized group and others in the pronominalized. The languages of the pronominalized group are further sub-divided into two sub-groups, viz. the eastern and the western which are separated from each other by a comparatively wide extent of country. The eastern group is confined to the territory of eastern Nepal and the adjoining territories, the so called 'Kiranti country', owing to which the speeches of this country were appropriately named by Hodgson as 'the Kiranti Dialects' the prominent of which are Limbu, Khambu, Yakha, Vayu, Chepang, Rai, Dhimal, Bahing (a dialect of Khambu), etc.

The dialects of the western pronominalized group are mainly spoken in the Lahaul sub-Division of the district Lahaul & Spiti and in the district Kinnaur in the state of Himachal Pradesh. The dialects of Himachal Pradesh comprise Kinnauri, Kanashi, Tinani, Puttani and Gahri and in the Uttarakhand region of Kumaun and Garhwal Sub-divisions of Uttar Pradesh : Johari, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byangsi, Raji and Marchha. The Purik and the Ladakhi dialects, spoken in the state of Jammu and Kashmir do not attest features of pronominalization.

In the pronominalized languages too there are diverse tendencies and degrees of pronominalization. Consequently, on these bases these dialects have further been classified as simple pronominalized and complex pronominalized languages, which of course, pertain to both the eastern and westrn groups. Of all these pronominalized languages, Limbu and Vayu in the eastern group and Kinnauri in the Western group attest very complicated characteristics of pronominalization and manifest a fully complex nature of it. In all of them all the salient features of pronominalization are fully attested, i.e. in their verbal forms, not only the pronominal subject, but the objects (direct and indirect) are also in-corporated. For instance, in Limbu in an Utterance like 'strike him' both the subject (I) and the object (him) are affixed to the verb (strike). Consequently, we get the resultant verbal form *hip-tung* in which the verb root *hip-* takes the personal suffix-*tu* 'he' and *-nga* 'I' in an abbreviated form. Similarly, the analysis of Kinnauri verbal forms like *khya-cha-k* I saw you' indicates that in this the verb root *khya-* to see takes the subject *-k* -and the object *ch-* as pronominal suffixes, to make the utterance a self sufficient statement. In such a construction the sequence of various morphological elements is like this : verbal base + object + subject.

In this context it may, however, be pointed out that, though pronominalization is one of the most important features that distinguishes it from the Tibeto-Burman dialects of India and Nepal, yet the forms and patterns of pronominalization are not uniformly followed in all the pronominalized languages mentioned above. In some it is only the subject that is represented in the verbal forms, in others only the object or both. In the former case too the representation of the subject may be restricted to a particular person or number. For instance, in Yakha the verb does not regularly take the personal suffixes for indicating the subject of it. But the suffix-*nga* is however, sometimes inserted in between the base and the auxiliary, if the subject is of the first person, singular number, e.g. *khem-me-nga-na* I go (lit. going-I-am).

Similarly, in the latter case too, there may be incorporation of only direct object, indirect or of both. Besides, the pronominal element representing the subject or the object of the verb may be employed in its full form or in reduced or abbreviated form. Thus, in Khambu there are no certain instances of the use of personal pronominal suffixes in order to indicate the subject of the verb. On the other hand there is apparently a tendency to prefix a pronoun to indicate the object of it, as in *khung-ko-lo kho-pa-piko* I will say to him (lit. him-to-him-to-will-say); *kho-do-pikā* he said to him, etc. Moreover, the nature of the affixation of the pronominal elements too, is not uniform in all the languages. In some, these may be prefixed, in others suffixed or infixed. In the case of Yakha we have seen that it is infixed in between the verbal base and the auxiliary. In Limbu in some cases it is prefixed or in others suffixed, e.g. *a-k'-hip* thou strikest me (lit. me-thou strike), *khun-chi-me-wa* they are (lit. they-they are). Suffixation is the most common device which is followed in most of the languages.

Now we shall take up individual speeches to see, briefly, how the phenomenon of the verbal pronominalization is operative in them. In this we shall first take up the western group and then the eastern group.

***Lahuli* :** There are three dialects of Lahul which belong to the group of western pronominalized languages. They are Pattani, Tinani and Gahri, which wholely or partially exhibit the characteristics of incorporation of the subject in the verbal forms. In all the cases the short forms of the pronouns are suffixed to the inflectional base of the verb concerned. In Pattani and Tinani it is attested in all the tenses and persons, but in Gahri its use is confined to the present tense and first person only. All these may be illustrated as follows :

***Pattani* :** Usually, it is-*ga* in the first person, *-na* in the second and the absence of these indicates the 3rd person, as in *gog* I will go, *yo-n* thou willst go *yo-to* he will go; *lha-ri-g* I did, *lha-ri-n* thou didst, *lha-ri* he did *lha-to-g* I have done, *il-i-ni* you have gone (pl.).

***Tinani* :** As in Pattani in this too the Ist person is represented by *ga-* and the second person by *-na* and the third person by the absence of any marker or zero marker, as in *il-to-g* I will go, *it-to-n* thou willst go, *it-to* he will go; *il-to-ni* we will go; *le-i-g* I did *le-i-n* thou didst, *le-i* he did; *ibi-to-g* I am going, *ibi-to-n-* you are going.

***Gahri* :** As stated above, in Gahri this feature is attested in the present tense and first person only, because in other tenses and persons the verb forms have been equalized to a single invariable form, e.g. *lig-ce-g* I do, otherwise *lig-ca-re* he/thou/they/you do. However, in older text recorded for the LSI we come across instances in which employment of pronominal suffixes for second person is also attested, as in *la-to-k* I do, *la-to-n* thou doest, *la-to* he does, *la-to-c* you do/I do. In the last example the *ca* seems to represent the Ist and the 2nd person plural.

***Kanashi* :** The tribal dialect of Malana in Kullu which too belongs to this very group follows a similar pattern of pronominalization, i.e. in it too the first person pronoun is represented by the suffix *-ga* which is realized as *ka* as well, and the second person by *na* and the third person by the absence of both. For instance, *Shigu-ta-k/g* I die *shon-me-g* I did; *royo -tog* I live; *kon-me-g* I brought, *boke-n* thou wentest, you went, *ran-tan* givest, *royo-ta-n* dwellest, *kon-me-n* you brought, *bhurro-ke-n* you come/are coming, but *lon-mo* he said, *royo-to* he lives.

Moreover, in Kanashi there are instances in the text recorded for the LSI which indicate that in former times incorporation of object too was practised in it, e.g. in *thind pici-gu-n* you make me (your) servant (lit. servant make-me-thou), the *gu*-seems to represent the first person object, viz. 'me'.

Similarly, the suffix *-ang* or *-ng* in *tugu-ta-ang>tugutang* we drink, *nilo-ta-ang >nilo-tang* seems to represent the pronoun of the first person plural number.

Kinnauri : Kinnauri is one of the most important languages of the western pronominalized group. It is the only language of this group which falls under the category of complex pronominalized languages. In it a verbal form incorporates the pronominal elements of both, the subject and the object of the very in question. Consequently, the pronominal elements of the subject are represented by *-k/-g* for the first person, e.g. ***present tense*** —*bio-to-g* I go/I am going,***bio du-n*** you go/you are going, *bio du* he goes. ***Past tense*** —*bio-k* I went, *bi-o-n* you (sg.) went, *bi-o-* he went; ***future tense*** —*bi-to-k* I will go, *bi-to-n* thou willst go; *bi-to* he will go.

Object Incorporation : In transitive verbs, besides the subject, the pronominal object also is incorporated in the verb form itself. In this case the object particle *-cha-* is infixed in between the verbal base and the subject particle. The particle-*cha*- as a pronominal object represents the first and the second person and the absence of it denotes that the object is the third person pronoun. This may be illustrated as follows : *-khya-cha-k* I saw you, (Lit. see-you-I); *Khya-cha-n* you saw me (Lit. see-I-you); *khya-k* I saw him, *khya-n* you saw him; *khya-d* he saw him. Similarly, *za-to-k* I shall eat (something); *za-to-n* you shall eat (something); *za-cho-k* I shall eat you, *za-cho-n* you shall eat me, etc.

Marchha and Tolchha : Marchha and Tolchha dialects of Garhwal, which belong to the western pronominalized group of languages, attest this phenomenon in verbal forms only. Accordingly, the verb incorporates the pronominal subject in its reduced form or in a symbolic form. Usually it is represented by- *g/k* in the first person and *by-n* in the second person. The subject of the 3rd person is indicated by the absence of these personal pronominal affixes. These may be illustrated as follows : in the verbal forms of the verb *rha-to* come of the Mana dialect.

Present Tense : *rhana* he comes, *rhanani* you come, *rhanagi* I come.
Past Tense : *rhaya* he came, *rhani* you came, *rhagi* I came.
Future Tense : *rhatti* he will come, *rhanani* you will come, *rhanagi*, I will come.

In the dialect of Niti these are attested as—*rhachya/*he comes, *rhacheni* you come, *rha chiki* I come, *rhai* he came, *rhaion* you came, *rhaiki* I came.

In both the dialects, however, the process of pronominalization is on its decline. Consequently, there are many forms in which the pronominal elements are not incorporated in the conjugational forms.

Rangkas : In the Rangkas group of languages, viz. Johari, Darmiya, Chaudangsi and Byangsi, the feature of pronominalization is not regular and uniform. For, in some of these it is attested in particular tenses, and in some in particular persons only. However, there is a distinct tendency to distinguish the person of the subject in the form of the verb, at least so far as the second person is concerned. As in other dialect of the western pronominalized group, in this too pronominal subjects of the first and second persons are represented by *-g-* and *-n-* respectively. This representation takes two forms in Rangkas, i.e. these pronominal elements are either suffixed to the tense marker of the verb in question or are infixed in between the verbal base and the tense marker, particularly in the past tense. The examples of this feature of these dialects may be seen as under :—

Johari : Second person only : *rhai-sa-n-* thou livest, *di-si-n* you go/thou goest, but *sai-t-na-ta* thou strikest, in which it is infixed.

In the past tense the pronominal *-n-*, followed by free varient vocalic elements, is infixed, instead of suffixation, as in *tang-n-su* gottest, *dia-nu-s* gavest, *kur-nau-s/kur-nai-s* broughtest, etc.

Darmiya : In Darmiya too, the pattern is similar to that attested in Johari, e.g. *present tense* — *syong-si-n* struckest; *to-na-su* broughtest; *tang-nu-su* foundest; *de-ni-so* you went (pl.).

Chaudangsi & Byangsi : These are two varieties of the same dialect. In the matter of pronominalization these too, follow the pattern of Darmiya, e.g. *Present tense* — *sa-ta-n* thou strikest, *da-da-n* givest, *dang-da-n-* you will give, *ra-sa-n-* comest, *di-sa-n* thou goest, *Past tense* : *se-n-s-* strukest, *di-na-s* wentest, *di-n-su* gave, *ra-n-su* came, etc.

In the dialects of Chaudangs and Byangs there are certain verbal forms in the first person in which the existence of the pronominal elements *-g-* or *-k-* is attested as an infix in the past tense forms,e.g. *se-ga-s* I struck, *sai-ga-s-* I have struck, *dā-ga-s* I have given, etc. *Byangsi* : *-sa-k-so* I struck, *da-ka-s* I gave, etc.

It may be interesting to point out here that the above noted pronominalized verbal forms were available to Grierson for his data in 1908, but have lost this element to day. Now, they are attested as *da-su, sa-su* etc. which are identical with the non-pronominalized third person forms. We have, however, come across some future tense forms, like *ja-g-ne* we shall eat, *de-g-ne* we shall go, etc. in which the presence of -g- indicates that it may presumably be the pronominal element of the first person.

Raji **:** There is another dialect of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, spoken in the Pithoragarh district of Uttarakhand which is called Raji. It exhibits the maximum features of Muṇḍa. All verbal forms of Raji admit the pronominal subject and the object as suffixes in their unreduced forms, e.g. *hamure-ā-nā* I strike him (lit. strike-he-I); *hamure-nā-ai* he strikes me (Lit. strike-I-he). But now, Raji too is losing its pronominal character.

Eastern Sub-group : Now we shall briefly present the features of pronominalization as attested in the eastern sub-group of pronominalized Tibeto-Himalayan languages.

Limbu **:** It is an important dialect of this group in which both the forms of pronominalization, viz. nominal and verbal are fully attested. We have already discussed of the nominal pronominalization in the foregoing pages. Now we shall take up the phenomenon of verbal pronominalization. In this respect Limbu occupies a special place. For, a verbal form in it can incorporate both the subject and the object of it. Moreover, both the subject and the object can be indicated by means of pronominal prefixes and suffixes added to the verb. As such it comes under the category of complex pronominalized languages.

The subject of the first person singular is indicated by *-ang* or *-ng*, an abbreviated form of the pron. *anga;* e.g. *peg-ang* I went, *hip-tu-ng* I strike him (lit. stike -he-I); But when prefixed then it is represented by *ā* as in a *ā-k-hip* you strike me (lit. my-thy-striking), *ā-k-hip-ti* you struck me. The suffix *ang* also represents the object of first person, as in *hip-ta-ng* he struck me, pi-ra-ng-ne give me etc.

The subject of the second person singular is indicated by prefixing *k'*-to the verb, as in *k'-peg* thou goest, *k'-pe* wentest, *k'-chogu* didst it, *ik-hip-a* strikest me.

In case of an object, the second person pronoun is represented by the suffix *-ne* and in such a construction the marking of the subject is left, out, as in *hip-ne* I strike thee.

The subject of the third person is not indicated by means of any preffix or suffix e.g. *peg* he goes, *pe* he went etc. There are, however, many sets of pronominal suffixes and prefixes for the dual and plural numbers of all the persons, and different sets for the inclusive and exclusive dual and plural numbers of the first person. In fact, the mechanism of pronominalization is very complicated in Limbu, some of the details of which can be seen in the LSI (Vol. III, pt. I, pp. 289-292).

Khambu : Khambu, besides being an important dialect of eastern Nepal and Darjeeling, represents a group of Kiranti dialects as well. Though it belongs to the group of eastern pronominalized languages, yet its pronominal system is not so complicated as we find in Limbu. There is no mechanism to indicate the pronominal subject by means of personal suffixes or prefixes. However, a tendency to prefix a pronoun in order to indicate the object is very much there, e.g. *khodo-pikā* (he) said to him (lit. him said), *khung-ko-lo kho-pā-piko* I will say to him (lit. him-to him-to will-say.) In the negative constructions of the past tense there is the pronominal suffix *-ngā* which represents the first person, as in *mām-mo-ngā* I did not, *mām-pi-ngā* I did not give, *māng khā-e-ngā* I did not go, etc.

It may also be pointed out that most of the dialects belonging to this group have a tendency to distinguish the person of the pronominal subject, by means of pronominal suffixes, at least if the subject is of the first person. In that case a suffix *-ngā* is usually added or inserted in between the base and the auxiliary.

In Dhimal and Thami we find a suffix *-nā* in the second person as well, as in *nā-le-ang-nā* thou will come (lit. thou come-wilt-thou). The first person suffix, as usual, is *-ngā*, as in *kā-le-āng-ka* I shall come (lit. I-come-shall–I).

It may be interesting to note that these two suffixes, viz. *-ngā* for the first person and *-nā* for the second person represent these very pronouns in the pronominalized languages of the western sub-group as well (see above). Evidently, these are the shortest forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons.

There are many more dialects like Bahing etc. belonging to this group which exhibit the morphological feature of distinguishing the subject or the object in verbs. Here we shall illustrate examples from two more dialects, viz. Vayu and Yakha only.

Yakha : In Yakha the person of the subject is not regularly distinguished in the verb forms. There are only some indications of a tendency to add suffixes indicating the pronominal subject of it. Consequently a *-ng* or *-ngā* is sometimes affixed to represent the subject in the first person, and a *-ka* or *ga* to represent the second person. For instance, *nā-ngā* am -I(=I am), *chu-gu-ngā* did -I(=I did), *nāk-kā* (thou) art, *khek-kā* goest. In case of copulative statements the personal affixes are infixed in between the main verb and the copula, as in *khem-me-kā-nā* thou shalt go (lit. going thau art) *khem-me-ngā-nā* I shall go (lit. going I-am). It may be pointed out that this state of affair agrees with the practice in Munda languages.

Vayu : Among the dialects of the eastern group Vayu again presents an elaborate system of pronominalization. In it the person of the subject is in many forms indicated by means of pronominal infixes which are inserted between the base and the copula. In this too the pronominal affix of the first person is, as in Rai, Limbu etc. *-ng* or *ngā*, thus, *phi-ngo-mi* I go/I am going, *tāng-mi* I place. In some cases the affix *-ng* is contracted to a simple nasal -m- as well, as in *jyop'-mu-m* I am tired.

The subject of the second person singular is not usually indicated by means of any pronominal infix. However, the presence of an infix *-nu-* in the second person singular number form of the verb 'to be' indicates that it must be *-n-* as in *no-nu-m* (thou) art. Similarly, there is no pronominal representation of the third person pronoun in the verbal forms.

However, representation of the first and the second person pronominal object is very much there. In this scheme the object of the first person singular is indicated by *-ng,-ngo* etc. which is identical with the pronominal affix of the subject of the first person, e.g. *hā-su-ng* give me; *thā hā-ngo* don't give me.

The pronominal infix of the second person singular is *-nu-/ -no* and is used only when the subject is of first person singular number e.g. *ha-nu-m* I give thee, *top-nu-m* I strike thee, *top-no-chhe-m* I strike you two, top-*no ne-m* I strike you etc. In this the suffixes *-nu/no* are identical with the pronominal elements *-n-* and *-nā-* attested in many other languages of the T.H. group.

The pronominal object of the third person is indicated by a variety of afixes suffixed to the verbal base. In many cases different afixes have been recorded to denote the direct and the indirect objects, normally *-ko* being used for the direct object and *-to* for the indirect object, as in *yeng-ko* see him; *yeng-to* see for him; *jā-ko* eat it, *ja-to* eat for him, etc. The object marker *-ko* is assimilated with the preceding sound if it is labial one, e.g. *po'-po* lick it; *pop-to* lick it for him, etc.

Conclusion : This bird's eye view of the linguistic phenomenon termed as pronominalization, which is a distinguishing characteristic of Muṇḍa languages, takes us not only to pre-historic days when the Muṇḍa speaking communities inhabited these Himalayan regions and when the non-Muṇḍa tribes of these regions lived with their Muṇḍa cohabitants for a long time in peace and harmony, because it is only a long and close contact in which this type of linguistic convergence takes place, but also vindicates the cultural affinities of many of these tribes at the linguistic level. This survey also brings us home of the various schemes, pattern and preferences followed by the speakers of different languages in respect of pronominalization. In fact, it is only at the comparative plan that we can have a real insight of the structure and history of a language.

REFERENCES

1. Beams, John, 1970 (Ind. Rep.), *A comparative Grammar of Modern Indian Languages*, Delhi-55.
2. Bloch, Jules (Trans.) 1954, *The Gramatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*, Deccan College, Poona.
3. Bhattacharya, Sudhibhushan, 1975, *Studies in Comparative Munda Linguistics*. I.I.A.S. Shimla.
4. Caldwell, Robert (Ind. Ed.) 1974, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian*, New Delhi-55.
5. Grierson, A.G. 1908, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III Pt. I (Reprint) Delhi.
6. Sharma D.D. 1983, *Studies in Tibeto Himalayan Linguistics*, VVBIS &IS Hoshiarpur.
7. ———————— 1988, *A descriptive Grammar of Kinnauri*, Mittal Publications, Delhi-35.
8. ———————— 1989, *Tribal Languages of Himachal Pradesh*. Mittal Pub., Delhi-35.
9. ———————— 1989. *Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand*. Mittal Publications. Delhi-59.

A NOTE ON PADMA SUNDARA AND HIS WORKS

Satya Vrat

By virtue of his literary output and spiritual attainments, Padmasundara was decidedly the foremost in the galaxy of Jaina ascetics, who, notwithstanding the rigorous monastic inhibitions, had cordial ties with the Mughal Emperor Akbar.[1] The overwhelming consensus is disposed to identify him with Paraminder, mentioned in Aine-e-Akbari as one of the esteemed proteges at the royal court.[2] Ordained in the *Nāgapurīya Tapāgaccha,* an offshoot of the *śvetāmbara* branch of Jaina faith, Padmasundara, as testified by most of his works or colophons thereof, was privileged to have been the pupil of Padmameru, the mighty scholar (*paṇḍitottama*) of the day.[3] Akbar was so fascinated by his multidimensional personality that he came to entertain, over the years, intimate friendship with Padmasundara that virtually lasted till the latter's end. At the conclusion of his very fruitful meeting with Hīravijayasūri, the emperor is known to have gifted him a sizable collection of books that originally belonged to Padmasundara, but had been preserved with him ever since his death.[4] Devavimala, the author of *Hīrasaubhāgya,* a poetic biography of Hīravijaya, not only vouches for the veracity of the details of the memorable event, but also enumerates by name, in his auto-commentary, the various works included in the collection, which, comprised, besides others, the *Yadusundara-mahākāvya* by Padmasundara himself[5], that has hitherto suffered undeserved oblivition. Hīravijaya is known to have visited Akbar's court at Fatehpur Sikri, in 1582 A.D. (V.S. 1639).[6] Obviously Padmasundara had been dead for some time prior to 1582 A.D Taking *Pramāṇasundara,* written in V.S. 1632,[7] to be his last work, Nathu Rama Premi was inclined to put Padmasundara's death somewhere between V.S. 1632 and 1639 (1575-82 A.D.)[8]. But the discovery of his Yadusundara, a mahākāvya in twelve cantos, seems to give lie to the conclusion. in view of its flamboyant style, laboured language and strong tendency to indulge in literary gimmicks like *citrakāvya,* all whipped up to prepare a fulfledged adaptation of Srīharṣa's *Naiṣadhacarita,* it can be justifiably claimed to mark acme to Padmasundara's literary achievements.[9] The sentimental warmth with which Devavimala has depicted the emperor's anguish, leaves little doubt that to him (Akbar) Padmasundara's death was not a distant occurrence. He seemed to be undergoing, till the time, its unmitigated vehemence. Padmasundara might have died in proximity to the emperor's meeting with Hīravijayasūri, a year or so before, some time in V.S. 1637-38 (1580-81 A.D.). The discovery of *Yadusundara* thus compels revision of the earlier view on the date of Padmasundara's death. If he may be, as he should be, taken to have been alive till 1581 A.D., then the *Yadusundara* can be confidently assigned to the interlude between 1575 and 1581 A.D. Padmasundara thus seems to have survived for at least six years after composing his supposedly last work, *Pramāṇasundara*, to crown his literary output with Yadusundara, undoubtedly his *magnum opus*.

Some of his other works serve to uphold Padmasundara's spiritual friendship with Akbar. His treatise on poetics, *Akbarāśāhiśṛṅgāradarpaṇa* (Assd),[10] as the title implies, was composed at the request of the emperor,[11] perhaps to acquaint him, in brief, with the theory of *Rasa* in Indian rhetorics. The *praśasti* to one of its codices is unambiguous in stating that as Jayarāja and Ānandarāya were patronised by Babur and Humayun respectively, so was Padmasundara the recipient of honour from Akbar, at whose court he had convincingly defeated a band of disputants in a debate.[12] Harṣakīrti's *Dhātutaraṅgiṇī* provides the additional information that Māladeva, the rular of Jodhpur, was equally enamoured of Padmasundara's virtues and extended liberal patronage to him, and that Akbar had bestowed upon him a village, a blanket and a palanquin to commemorate his triumph in a disputation at his court.[13] Whether this debate is identical with the one alluded to in Assd, we are unable to determine. Sādhukīrti, a follower of Kharataragaccha, had won a resounding victory in the discussion on *Pauṣadha*, at Akbar's court, in V.S. 1625 (1568 A.D.). The *Ja-itapadevali* confirms that Padmasundara then had his camp at Agra.[14]

Padmasundara seems to have been a prolific writer. He completed his *Bhaviṣyadattacarita* in V.S. 1614, on the fifth day of the bright half of *Kārttika*. *Rāyamattābhyudaya* reached its conclusion on *Jyeṣṭha Śuklā Pañcamī*, in V.S. 1615. The same year witnessed the completion of *pārśvanātha-kāvya*.[15] In the short span of a wee more than one year, Padmasundara had spun out three sizable works, a mighty feat by any standards. The works themselves bear it out that all the three were composed in deference to the wishes of Rāyamalla, a devout *śrāvaka* of *Carasthavara (Carathavāla* in Muzzfarnagar district, U.P.).[16]

Padmasundara's writings bespeak his equipment in various disciplines. It encompasses in its sweep such diverse fields as poetry, poetics, grammar, philosophy, medicine, music, lexicon and astrology. By all accounts, he, not unlike his mentor Padmameru, was a versatile scholar. The *Pārśvanātha-kāvya* (PK) and *Yadusundara* (YS) are *mahākāvyas* of considerable worth and girth. While the former purports to detail the life-account of the twenty third Jaina pontiff Pārśvanatha, including his earlier births, with poetic trappings, in conventional style; in *Yadusundara,* that describes in twelve cantos Vasudeva's marriage with the Vidyādhara-princess Kanakā and their post-marital enjoyments, Padmasundara embarks upon the prohibitive task of slashing the formidable *Naiṣadhiacarita* down to a handy size in order to project it as a worthy counterpart to Śrīharsa's mighty tome [17]. Deeply imbued with Śrīharsa's style, language and mannerism, it emerges as one of the few poems that seek to perpetuate the Naiṣadha-school of poetry. The *Rāyamallābhyudaya* amounts to a detailed biography, in kāvya-form, of all the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras, from the mythological Ṛṣabha to Mahāvīra, the matchless apostle of peace and non-violence.

The *Akbaraśāhiśṛṅgāradarpaṇa* serves to establish Padmasundara as a literary critic of sorts. As indicated by the title, it primarily concerns itself with the Erotic sentiment, which, as treated in the tract, spills over more than three of its four chapters (*ullāsas*). In Padmasundara's scheme of things the *śṛṅgāra rasa* is not confined to its traditional divisions or the myriad concomitant situations; it admits in its purview besides the various types of hero and heroine, the varied psychic strains that they undergo in separation and the stratagems they employ to win over their love. The treatment of other *rasas* is "incidental and necessarily most cursory". Padmasundara conforms to the tradition that favours nine sentiments in preference to Bharata's eight. To him, *śṛṅgāra* constitutes the life-breath of poetry, which, if shorn of the sentiment, is as insipid as a straw-man.[18] The work closely follows the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* of Rudraṭa.

The *Jñānacandrodaya-nāṭaka (JC)*[19] unfolds a different facet of Padmasundara's equipment. Though entitled *nāṭaka* and divided into five acts, the JC is not a drama at all. It embodies in 398 verses, in different metres, the essence of Jaina philosophy, as it is propounded by Kundakunda in his monumental works, especially the *Pravacanasāra.* Notwithstanding the sectarian disparities, Padmasundara follows the great *Ācārya* and his equally brilliant scholiast, Amṛtacandra (11th century A.D.), with zealous tenacity. While some of the verses practically add up to Sanskrit rendering of the *gāthās* of *Pravacanasāra,* some others are but versified version of the prose passages in *Ātmakhyāti* and *Tattvadīpikā,* Amṛtacandra's commentaries on *Samayasāra* and *Pravacanasāra* respectively, otherwise also the work abounds in verbal borrowals from Kundakunda.[20]

The sister volume *Pramāṇasundara* (PS)[21] is an 'important contribution to the science of pramanas'. Divided into four sections, the tract deals with the definition and classification of 'proof', much in pursuance of the Jaina tradition. While the first section concerns itself with defining and discussing *pramāṇa,* the following sections successively treat *pratyakṣa, anumāna* and *Āgama,* with their divisions and subdivisions, refuting in the process the contrary views on the respective issues. In the brilliant exposition of his definition of proof—*samyaksvaparavyavasāyātmakam* jñānam *pramāṇam pramāṇatvānyathānupapatteḥ*—Padmasundara has been at pains to discard the various aspects of the views favoured by earlier thinkers including the Buddhists, Naiyāyikas. Mīmānsakas, sāmkhyas and the Vedāntins.[22] He takes *arthāpatti* and *abhāva* to be the different forms of *anumāna.*[23] The attempt to bring *smaraṇa, pratyabhijñā* and *tarka* under the umbrella of *anumāna*[24] is evidently at odd with the Jaina tradition. He has not been indifferent either to the types of *hetu* or to the pseudo-hetus (*hetvābhāsas*). The validity of *Āgama* can be disputed neither by *pratyakṣa* nor by *anumāna* etc.

The *Sundaraprakāśaśabdārṇava* (SPS) is known through its MS (No. 448), deposited with *Jaina Jñāna mandira, Chani* (Gujrat). The SPS is divided into five *Taraṅgas* and consists of 2783 verses. Apparently a lexicon, it is distinguished by the grammatical derivation of the words included therein, in consonance with the Sārasvata school of grammar. It may thus justifiably be claimed to deal with both lexicon and grammar. It is perhaps to underline its grammatical aspect that the author himself has termed it as *śabdānuśāsana: yathāmati mayā proktam kiñciñchabdānuśāsanam* (V.63).[25]

Padmasundara's equipment in grammar is obvious from the *Sārasvata-rūpamāla* as well. As evidenced by its codex (No. 403 Punya), preserved in L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad; it treats in two cantos consisting of 153 verses, the verbal forms in accordance with the Sārasvata school.[26]

The Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner retains MSS of some of Padmasundara's other works viz. *Hāyanasundara* (No. 5272), *paramatavyavacchedasyādvadasundara dvātrinśikā* (No. 9746), *Rājapraśnīyanāṭyapadabhañjikā* besides a defective MS of *Pramāṇasundara* (No. 8432), analysed earlier. The *Hāyanasundara* is noticed without mention of its author by Aufrecht in his *Catalogous Catalogorum* (I.765). It seeks to describe, in eight *prakaraṇas*, the position and conjunction of the seven auspicious planets and the influence they exercise on human destiny (I.1).

Sadbhāṣāgarbhita-nemistavagāthā, Varamaṅgalikā-stotra, Jambūcaritra and prajñāpanāsūtrāvacūri are other known works of Padmasundara. His *Kuśalopadeśa* was issued in Sambodhi (Nos. 2-3) but is scarce to obtain.

To sum up, the paper makes the following points :

1. Padmasundara is the undisputed author of as many as twenty three works of uneven size and merit. Of these only the *Akbarasāhiśṛṅgāradarpaṇa, Kuśalopadeśa, Pārśvanāthakāvya, Yadusundara* and *Pramāṇasundara* have been published so far. Others are preserved in the form of MSS. *Bhāratīstavana*[27] and *Mālavarāgajinadhruvapada*[28] are known from the auto-commentary on Devavimala's *Hīrasaubhāgya*.

2. The works deal with diverse subjects and, as such, bear testimony to the author's versatility.

3. The discovery of his *Yadusundara* necessitates a fresh evaluation of his date. As against the earlier view that *Pramāṇasundara* was his last work, it can now be argued with justification that it is *Yadusundara* that marks the culmination of his writings.

4. Padmasundara was a close friend of Akbar. The emperor held him in high esteem because of his spiritual and scholarly achievements.

5. Padmasundara's collection of books, preserved with him, was gifted by the emperor to Hīravijayasūri. The books formed

the nucleus of the library, set up by Hīravijaya at Agra, under one Than Singh.

REFERENCES

1. M.D. Desai (ed.), Bhānucandracaritra, Singhī Jaina Granthamālā, No. 15, Introduction, p. 12; Sūriśvara Ane Samrāt (Gujrai), p. 120, quoted in Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, Bombay, 1956, p. 396, F.N. 3.

2. Ain-e-Akbari (English Translation by Blockmann), p. 537-547.

3. Yadusundara, Colophons; Sundaraprakāśaśabdāraṇava, colophons; Pārśvanāthakāvya, Colophons and VII. 64; Rāyamallābhyudaya, Praśasti, 100 etc.

3a. *Purābhavatprītipadam vayasyaviśāradendurmama padma sundaraḥ/* Hīrasaubhāgya, KM 67, XIV. 91.

4. Nathu Rama Premi, Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihasa, *op. cit.* p. 396.

5. Hīrasaubhāgya, KM 67, XIV.92-96 and Auto-commentary on XIV. 99: *Kāvyāni raghuvaṁśa-meghadūta-kumārasambhava---kādambarī-padmānandayadusundarādyāni.*

5a. The Yadusundara is known through its solitary MS (No. 2858 Puṇya) preserved with L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. Our study of the poem is based on its transcript. For an exhaustive critique on Yadusundara-mahakavya see our book (under print) Jaina Sanskrita Mahākāvya, p. 100-123.

It has been recently edited by D.P. Rawal, L.D. Series 105, Ahmedabad, 1987.

6. Bhānucandracarita, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 5-8 Unnatapurapraśasti, Line 1.

7. Pramāṇasundara (p. 127-160) in Jaina Philosophical Tracts (Ed. Nagin J. Shah), L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1973, p. 160.

8. Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, *op. cit.*, p.396.

9. SATYA VRAT, Jaina Sanskrit Mahākāvya (under print), p. 103.

10. Ed. K. Mādhavakṛṣṇa Sarmā, The Ganga Oriental Series, No. 1, Bikaner, 1940.

11. Assd, *op.cit.*, I.8.

12. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p.XX.

13. Quoted in Anekānta, Vol. IV., p. 470, Assd, Introduction, p.XXII and Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, op.cit., p. 395, F.N. 3.

14. Agarchand Nahta, Aitihāsika Jaina kāvyasaṁgraha, p. 140.

15. Pārśvanāthakāvya (MS), VII.44.

16. Pārśvanāthakāvya (MS), I.30; Rāyamallābhyudaya (MS), XX.24 quoted in Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, p.397-398.

17. See my paper Yadusundara: A unique Adaptation of Ṅaiṣadhacarita, Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Vol. XX, p. 193-203.

18. Assd, *op.cit.*, IV.20.

19. Ed. Nagin J. Shah, Sambodhi, Vol. 6, Nos. 1-2, 1977.

20. Jñānacandrodaya, *op.cit.*, Introduction, 2-3 and Footnotes to the texts.

21. Nagin J. Shah (ed.), Jaina Philosophical Tracts, *op.cit.*, p. 127-160.

22. Pramāṇasundara, op.cit., p. 127.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

24. *ibid.*, p. 130.

25-26. Sambodhi, Vol. XII, Nos. 1-4, (Appendix 4), p. 8-11.

27. Hirasaubhagya, XIV. 302 : *yathā Padmasundarakrtābhāratīstave 'vīram varam tāratarasvarnirjitagaṅgātaraṅga iti'.*

28. *Ibid.*, XI. 135: *'Jinavacanapaddatirukticaṅgimamālini' iti Padmasundara-kṛtamālavarāgajinadhruvapade.*

SECTION-II

History & Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology

G.C. Mohapatra . . *Obituary* Professor H.D. Sankalia.
A.B. Mukerji . . On the Relevance of Sankalia to the Cultural Geography of India.
Devendra Handa . . Studies in the Indus Script : A Review.
Mohinder Singh . . Terracotta Kushāṇa Art in Haryana.
Jalaluddin Ahemad Khan . . Women Ascetics in Pre-Gupta India.
N.S. Gorekar . . Father Heras : An Internationally Renowned Historian.
J.K. Sharma . . Al-Bīrūnī on Hindu Idol-Worship.
S.P. Sangar . : Soft Drinks in Mughal India.
Ravindra Kumar Sharma : . Military System of the Jodhpur State C. 1556 to 1707 A.D.

Obituary

PROFESSOR H.D. SANKALIA

G.C. Mohapatra

A frail man, hardly five feet tall, who strode like a colossus in the firmaments of Indian archaeology for long half a century breathed his last on 27th January 1989 in Pune. He was Hasmukh Dhirajlal Sankalia, whose scholarship, academic leadership and ascetic personality were admired and revered by hundreds of his friends, colleagues and students all over the world. Only a fortnight before his death, on 15th of January, a very distinguished gathering of intellectuals which included Justice Y.B. Chandrachud, former Chief Justice of India and Prof. Ram Takwade, Vice Chancellor, University of Poona, felicitated Prof. Sankalia on the occasion of his 81st birthday at a function held at Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

Born on 10th December 1908 in a family which hailed from Surat but had been long settled in Bombay due to his father's law profession, the boy Hasmukh was never a brilliant student in schools. But at the University level his love for classical language and culture drew him close to Father Heras of St. Xavier's College (Where later Heras Institute came to be established) who was at that time one of the most revered of the orientalists. A survey of the history and extant monuments of the ancient Buddhist university of Nalanda which Sankalia wrote as his M.A. dissertation in 1932 and published in 1934 provides real insight into the depth of his vision and high quality of intellection in research even at so early stage of his career.

After having obtained his M.A. and Bachelor of law degree from Bombay University Sankalia proceeded to London for his Ph.D which he successfully completed in 1936 under the supervision of Prof. K. de B. Codrington on a general survey of archaeological remains of Gujarat. Even in those days employment without unfair support and backing was as much an impossibility as it is today. With his Ph.D. from London on a topic which was just archaeology as taught and practised at that time and nothing else, Sankalia was not considered suitable for the job of a Curator of Mathura Archaeological Museum. But young Dr. Sankalia without losing heart continued his studies and researches on diverse branches of archaeology from prehistory to palaeography and eked out a living independent of his parents by working as private tutor to school and college students.

When the Poona Sanskrit College hallowed by the glorious days of Lokamanya Tilak's studies and researches there, was converted to Deccani College Postgraduate and Research Institute immediately after the Second World War, Sankalia was offered a job in its new set up. In 1939 he joined Deccan College at a salary of Rs. 150. The post he occupied carried the designation of Professor of Proto Indian and Ancient Indian History. From that time till his death his heart and soul hovered round Deccan College. In mid-sixties he was offered the highest position in the Archaeological Survey of India, the Director Generalship, which he declined because of the bureaucratic nature of the job and the separation it will cause from his research team at Deccan College. He retired as the Director of Deccan College in 1973. In recognition of his profound scholarship and the glory he brought to the university of Poona, the university had honoured him with Emeritus Professorship that year.

Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda, Sir Ratan Tata Memorial Trust, Gujarat Research Society and many more academic and philanthropic persons and institutions soon became impressed by the quality of Sankalia's work and came forward with offers of monetary and material help. Thus began Sankalia's one-man effort to built literally brick by brick the institution which world today knows as the premier centre for archaeological research and training in the whole of South Asia. He died a very satisfied man, his dream more than fulfilled. Time will not be able to dim the imprint of Sankalia's personality on the Department of Archaeology in Deccan College where every one working now was trained and recruited by him keeping in view his or her capacity to cope with his work-philosophy, where every equipment, apparatus and furniture was acquired by him for its usefulness, durability and inexpensive nature and on whose ground he built a house to live, bequeathing along with all his other earthly possessions to this great seat of learning after the demise of the last of them (couple). With a munificent recent grant from the Ford Foundation for development of archaeological research and the U.G.C. recognition of Deccan College as a deemed university, Sankalia's services have been immortalised.

Sankalia's writings are legion. From prehistory to history, almost every aspect of Indian archaeology and culture has been delved deep by him with equal commitment and depth of scholarship. Besides hundreds of research papers, presidential addresses, archaeological policy planning, reviews and popular writings in English, Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi, his books and monographs constitute priceless treasures of Indian archaeological records. In total Sankalia has written about two dozen books each of which is an epitome of learning and scientific exercise. The most outstanding ones are his *magnum-opus* "Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan", "Excavations at Navda Toli", "From prehistory to history at Nevasa" and reports of his two Gujarat prehistoric expeditions.

Besides "University of Nalanda" and "Archaeology of Gujarat", his work on historical studies includes "Historical Geography and Cultural Ethnography of Gujarat", "Aspects of Indian History and Archaeology", "Ramayana - a myth or reality" and "Ramayana in historical perspectives". A peep into a very curious and interesting facet of Sankalia's mind can be had from his autobiography "Born for Archaeology" which he wrote at a mature age of sixtyeight and also from his will bequeathing his body to the students of anatomy and physiology.

The nation honoured Sankalia by Padma Vibhushan in 1974. Other national and international recognitions were conferred on him by several professional and academic bodies like the Honorary Fellowship of the British Academy, Fellowship of the Explorer Club of New York, Associateship of the Current Anthropology, Membership of the Council of Honour of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences of which he was also a Member of the Permanent Council, Membership of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology in India, Chairmanship of the Indian Society of Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies and the Indian Archaeological Society, Presidentship of the Anthropology and Archaelogy section of the Indian Science Congress Association and Membership of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. He was the recepient of Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship, Chakravarty Medal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bhagwanlal Indraji Medal of University of Bombay, Robert Bruce Foote Plaque of University of Calcutta and many awards and decorations from the State Governments of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh.

There is no part of India where Sankalia had not set his foot for exploration or excavation and there is no state in India from which he had not trained a student and had not written on one or the other aspect of its ancient heritage. Although Sankalia's twenty odd excavations included all types of sites from prehistoric to early historic, he was well known for his epoch-making discoveries in the diggings of protohistoric sites in western Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra specially at Navda Toli and Nevasa. Other notable sites excavated by him are Langhnaj, Dwarka, Somnath, Kolhapur, Nasik, Inamgaon, Ahar, Maheshwar, Tripuri, Tekkalkota and Sanganakallu. Unlike the Archaeological Survey of India whose excavation reports on some sites have not seen the light of day even after five decades of the excavation, Sankalia's reports had always rolled out of the press almost before he unrolled his tent at a new excavation site. In fact Sankalia was the bitterest critic of the Survey on this matter accusing it for doing a positive disservice to Indian archaeology by withholding by negligence much valuable material which could be of immense help to students and scholars alike, and also not letting the ordinary tax-payer know how well his share of tax has been utilised in rubble rousing.

A karmayogi in true sense, Sankalia's ideals and aspirations were simple and practical. Service and dedication to a noble cause in whatever form one's profession allows are graces of the Divine and are obtainable with ease by every mortal if there is will. This work philosophy of Sankalia has shaped destinies of generations of Indian archaeologists who have learnt archaeology from him—from Director Generals and Professors to officers of the State Departments of Archaeology and museum curators, some living and some dead, but all achieving excellence wherever they chose to serve within the country or outside it, His students included nationals of U.S.A., Canada, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Being a man of strong will and stronger discipline, he never broached any distraction from his work at any cost. No progenies, no socialisation, not even radio, television - nothing that does not bear any relevance to archaeology had any place in his spartan life. His days began at 4 a.m. when he used to prepare his cup of morning tea by himself. Immediately after that, his writing and reading used to commence. At dawn he went out, often combining his morning walk with short explorations around the place where he lived in Deccan College or in the bed of the Mutha-Mula river (where he did discover palaeolithic and Mesolithic artifacts) but invariably returned home with a frugal supply of vegetable and coriander leaves from the green grocer just enough for two souls for a day. Shrimati Sarlaben, Sankalia's spouse, companion, help and inspiration is a lady of very remarkable qualities. One has to see her to believe that "behind every successful man there is a woman". Her life is a saga of sacrifice, devotion and love wholly spent in nurturing the genius in Sankalia.

The future may give us a better genius in archaeoloy than what Sankalia was, but in today's world of fast changing values and shifting morals reappearance of the type of teacher that was in Sankalia and the recurrence of the ideals that motivated his life and work appear to be bleak. The posterity will probably scoff at the Wheeler - Sankalia era of Indian archaeology (1939-1989) for its old-fashioned pedagogical ideals, but it is bound to acknowledge its pre-eminent contributions, when more and more area will get submerged due to dams, levelled for factories, or dug deep for roads and when eyes will have nothing to appreciate in ancients but their patina of carbon monoxide.

(The writer had thirtythree years of association with Professor Sankalia which included four years as a research student.)

ON THE RELEVANCE OF SANKALIA TO THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

A.B. Mukerji

Professor H.D. Sankalia, whose recent death was mourned by the laymen, scholars and scientists all over the world, was considered as the greatest among the Indian and one of the greatest among the world archaeologists and prehistorians. Among the geographers, those whose major concerns have taken them to the prehistoric beginnings of culture, both material and non-material, and to the Pleistocene environments, Sankalia's theory and method, concepts and techniques, and reconstructions and intellection, have remained the most durable source of inspiration and learning. Cultural geographers, who jointly with archaeologists till the field of genesis, development, diffusion, survival, and decay, of culture, consider Sankalia's contributions as the permanent repository of ideas and wisdom that they need and draw from. Sankalia was concerned with the beginnings of cultures of different groups in different times and different places of India. For the cultural geographers these beginnings provide a datum with reference to which they can assess the distance in development different cultures in different regions of India have moved. It is Sankalia's kind of archaeology that enables a cultural geographer of India to reconstruct the differential evolution at a place as well as over space. This remarkable synthesis of regional scenes with sketches of places forms the foundation of real research in the cultural geography of India. From this synthesis one is enabled to draw conclusions on unilinear development of local settings supported by the harmonious interplay with ecology — ecological settings and ecological resources—unique to the particular place as well as by the absorption of external stimulii. Above these individual developments can be found overarching a vast system of regional interactions enabling the flow of culture traits even during the dawn of Indian civilization and Indian cultures. Through this method and with the data provided by Sankalia one proceeds to create the scenario of national synthesis and regional differentiations and similarities and punctuated by local happenings. From the places to the spaces to the land of the nation extends the picture of a cultural geographer of India displaying the edifice of unity over diversity or unity of diversity. This model is based immediately on Sankalia's contributions to India's prehistory, protohistory, and early ancient history. More important than any other idea of Sankalia has been the consistency of growth and the inevitability of stages in culture history and their translation in spatial dimensions. Additionally, he insists on a clear and full recognition of the material basis of terrestrial existence comprised of secular and ritual and material and ideational complexes. He holds the position that the early history — prehistory and protohistory — do indeed form the foundation of the later Indian Cultures and what is identified today as the Indian Civilization is intricately and intriguingly linked with and founded upon the archaeologically discovered cultures. Many of the obscure regional patterns of cultures and culture-nature interactions are embedded in the regional prehistoric and protohistoric antecedents. The patterns and processes are deeply rooted in the vast span of time. Sankalia, by his own untiring ploddings in the field, prods us to dig deeper and deeper into the land to discover the roots of our cultures and our civilization. In being concerned with both space and time, he comes closest to our colleagues of historical geography. Time and space, one might generalise, and the generalisation would be supported by the vast corpus of research produced by Sankalia, have the same nature of relationship as the one that exists between becoming and being. The relationship is, prima facie, dialectical, the seeds of one are embedded in the body of the other. Becoming in resulting in the creation of being leads to the emergence and identification of stages and generates questions of repetitive and non-repetitive time and the associated events, much of which theoretically should be predictable in the former and non-predictable in the latter.

The Dimension of Time

In human history, whatever be the stage of development, time is of essence. For the archaeologist as for the cultural geographer time provides the foundation on which the structure of all the aspects of culture, origin, diffusion, area, and landscape, and most importantly, material and non-material traits and the mode of living, has to be raised and the complex fabric has to be rolled out.

Sankalia's main concern was with prehistory but he never ignored protohistory and early history. Upper Pleistocene and Holocene engaged most of his time and energy but he was greatly conscious of the linkages of the different stages, pre, proto, and early history, forming a sequence in the graph of unilinear time. At the time it was published, Sankalia's research on the early man in Ice Age Kashmir, immediately expanded the northern horizons of the then prevailing idea of the Ice Age man habitat territory not only to the north but also, for the first time, into the deeper parts of the Himalaya (Sankalia, 1969, pp. 16-26). At the time he conducted this research the expedition into the remotest vaults of time of human occupance it was indeed daring. For historical reconstruction, the principal task of both cultural geographers and archaeologists, was emphasised repeatedly by Sauer, one of the founding fathers of cultural geography (Sauer, 1963, pp 360-361). The historical reconstruction makes it imperative for a scholar of culture to explore its beginnings, proximate and ultimate, regardless of how deep is the time in which the roots are embedded and were implanted. Whether Sauer and Sankalia were aware mutually of each other's research is not certain. There does not seem to be any evidence of a contact. What is important is the convergence of the ideas of time of two great scholars, so greatly separated by space and the disciplinary distances, in the conventional consideration. Both were committed to the significance and use of the unilinear, irreversible time. Sauer writes 'The geographer cannot study houses and towns, fields and factories, as to their where and why without asking himself about their origins. He cannot treat the localization of activities without knowing the functioning of the culture, the process of living together of the group; and he cannot do this except by historical reconstruction' (Sauer, 1963, p. 360). For cultural geographer a great support is provided by Sankalia's concern with beginnings in time and this is uniquely paralleled by Sauer 'There may be as important things to learn about human geography in the archaeology of the Mississippi Delta as in its fields of sugarcane. Any topic in the social sciences is important, not by reason of its date, but by the light it throws on the nature of culture origins and changes' (Sauer, 1963 p. 365). Time, for a cultural geographer is not a cyclic, repetitive phase, it is a specific setting like a setting in a specific space. Time is genetic, not generic. Sauer speaks of all cultural geographers when he writes : 'Those of us who are completely historical geographers are concerned with human origins and changes throughout all human time' (Sauer, 1963, p. 366). All human time is a crucial demand and the most critical in any viable understanding of the development of culture.

Many times, it might be argued, have been important to the evolution of human cultures and civilizations. For Sankalia as for Sauer, the chief proponent of cultural geography in the 20th century, the most important time was the Pleistocene, the time associated most characteristically all over the world with the last deglaciation (Sankalia, 1969, pp. 16-26; Sauer, 1957, pp. 29-43;

Sauer, 1944, pp. 529-573; and Sauer, 1948, pp. 65-77). For Sankalia time was not an abstract category of intellection, time was not merely an imperative, time was the basic for a specific setting. This concept, though never explicitly stated nor implicitly underlined by Sankalia, can be derived with some logical effort from his ideas. A place has a time. A time has a place. For a cultural geographer the time provides him with a meaning of a space. Indeed it is time that, with other attributes, endows space with its ultimate meanings, its significance. In both America and India Pleistocene provided the setting for the first steps taken by humans in their cultural development. Man was witnessing the end of the ice age (Sauer, 1957, pp. 29-43 and Sankalia, 1969, pp. 16-26). In the reckoning of the time of human culture development the beginning must be made in the Pleistocene, the Middle and the Upper and the initial units of Holocene. Wherever and whatever be the fossil landscape or the relict landscape the roots are struck deep in one of the divisions of the Pleistocene. Indeed, for the human cultures and civilisations the most momentous time was the Pleistocene. Pleistocene, however, is very difficult to explore. Glaciation, deglaciation, and neotectonics have sculptured, flooded, overwhelmed, and fractured the earth's land surface, distorted to a degree never done since then. Evidences are scattered but difficult to be fitted into the original reality—a jigsaw puzzle. Scholars, both archaeologists and cultural geographers, are thus forced to adopt different approaches and techniques, and travel on different routes to the discovery of evidences and meaningful synthesising into a coherent construction. Sankalia was using tools as evidence of time. For him the tools would include all the artefacts, the material culture traits of the anthropologists. He was convinced that the story the tools told was true—this must have happened and this must have heppened then. Being a true scientistSankalia needed many more evidences whose combinations and convergence would prove his conclusions, his reconstructions, to be correct, reasonably correct. Sankalia was one of the earliest archaeologists of India to have resorted to the use of the radiocarbon dating technique in discovering the temporal dimension and the time associated with the origins of material culture traits. None too easy to be convinced without actual data Sankalia used the data extensively and published an important paper on radiocarbon dates, their consistency, and cultural implications (Sankalia, 1973, pp. 211-221). Through these dates Sankalia charted the events and explored the settings and sequences, placed the specific time in the calendar of the General Time.

Sankalia's relevance to cultural geography of India and its practitioners is in emphasising the need for the search of the beginnings of culture in time. This time is specific time and cannot be translated into repetitive stages characterising cyclic time. Time, Sankalia seems to be suggesting constantly, is not merely incidental but is an integral part of the setting. Paleolithic should evoke a sense of time, a setting, and a culture. Lastly, as a scientist, Sankalia could not remain satisfied with relative chronology provided by relics; in order to be absolutely sure he resorted to the constant use of radiocarbon dates.

On Methods

Sankalia has been one of the few scholars who never published anything substantial on his point of view and method or even theory. He was, par excellence, a field scientist. He was not a 'theory' man. He never promoted museum research, never as a substitute for field observation and investigation. Cultural geographers are easily and immediately reminded of Sauer who, all his scholarly life, engaged himself in field and who transferred the archival clues and facts on the relict landscapes of human occupance. 'Let no one consider that historical geography can be content with what is found in archive and library' (Sauer, 1941, pp. 1-24). For Sankalia the field remained a perennial invitation to the storehouse of artefacts and knowledge of site attributes, to environment, and to the mode of living. Field provides us with raw data. Field produces questions and also the clues towards solving them. It is the field that authenticates our arguments and formulations. 'The field geographer, then, must observe the expresion of such skills in the cultural objectives of a group occupying a given site, and the historical geographer must recover the survival of old skills that explain older dominant forms of land occupation' (Sauer, 1941, pp. 1-24). We find constantly the echoes of Sankalia's field research and writings in Sauer 'The Geographer as fieldworker has the opportunity to make observations of how material cultures worked' (Sauer, 1941, pp. 1-24). For Sauer field-work should not be aimed at the discovery and understanding of the recent or present. He takes us back, like Sankalia, to the recent and remote past. These journeys were literally journeys not in time alone preserved in some obscure niche of memory but in space. Historical and cultural geographers can take support and solace from the fact that Sauer, one of their greatest and most authentic spokesman, did indeed engage himself in archaeological excavations and the study of prehistoric cultures and their environments. Pueblo sites in southeastern Arizona and Aztatlan, the Prehistoric Mexican frontier on the pacific coast are two influential researches conducted by Sauer to illustrate his basic method (Sauer, 1930, pp. 415-459; and 1932, pp. 1-92). Cultural geographers have the responsibility to adopt the method evolved by Sankalia and Sauer and applied and validated by them in their own investigations of the terrestrial existence of man in the past. Since we accept that the present cannot have monopoly on our investigation and research time, energy, and money we must go where we have to go — the beginnings; and the beginnings can be discovered only by digging into the ground for material culture trait survivals. The cultural geographers of India must realise that cultural geography has to be, if it has to be logically and empirically considered a valid line of investigation, a genetic human geography (Sauer, 1941, pp. 1-24).

Field methods have to be developed that suit different kinds of investigations. Each problem of investigation must suggest its own method and technique. It is for this that Sankalia developed the study of archaeology in as many directions as were necessary to locate and retrieve the remains of the material culture traits. Geoarchaeology, archaeobotany, archaeozoology, archaeopalaeoanthropology, settlement archaeology, and radiocarbon dating were all developed by Sankalia to serve the purpose and goal of field work and from each the cultural geographers of India have great deal to learn. We consider cultural geography to be essentially historical geography. The study of historical geography cannot be limited to a pre-specified time period. The entire time span of human existence is our domain. Our method must answer to the demands made on our intellectual competence by the necessities of evidence in the field. Evidence must be retrieved for reconstructing the landscape, mode of living, environment, and material culture traits of all human periods. Only field work enables us to accomplish this task. The cultural and historical geographers are familiar with evidential approach. 'It is important to keep in mind that the cultural geographer employs an evidential approach that basically studies material things' (Kniffen, 1974, p. 254). This approach can, obviously, be applied only to the field, the landscape under observation, the place where evidence of the terrestrial occupation of a culture group is zealously preserved and guarded. 'The material details of the landscape are the geographer's lore. The cultural geographer must first group systematically the forms constructed by man in living on the earth' (Kniffen, 1974, p. 252). Sankalia excavated, classified, and related the classes to produce a logically coherent and historically substantiated narrative of the landscape. For him digging for tools and tiles and pots and pits was only the first step but absolutely essential in his method. These are the facts, the scientific evidences, which can then be classified and analysed to yield the structure of stereotypes or models. Sankalia was not building a model though. He was trying to understand cultures of the past in their settings where they had the most intimate relationships with environmental resources which the culture groups manipulated, used, and modified. This must be the method of cultural-historical geographers if the geography they are creating has to have credibility and authenticity. Sankalia's methods use very little of speculation. If he is ever prompted by speculation he does not write about it or gives even an indirect, covert suggestion in his writings. He was forever searching for material culture remnants which he needed to build his structure of discussion and portrait of early culture groups. The remnants were not evidences to validate a theory for Sankalia did not adopt the deductive method. His real brilliance lay in his empirical method, inductive method. He was moving from specific sites to generalisations. In his generalisations he is discussing the specific cases. The brilliant propositions and generalisations on the ecological background of the Chalcolithic Cultures of India is a brilliant example of his method. In many instances he left at the discovery and discussion of the specific excavations and he confidently charted out the generalisations only when he was sure of the large number of generic class excavations and remnants and their established inter-relationships. His decision to excavate a site in a particular area was not prompted by a mystical revelation or a prediction based on a model. He was not sampling the area. The decision was entirely based on his own empirical observation and a priority acquired knowledge of the area and the probable site. Long experience with the field and encounter with the entire landscape gave his an assurance of this success in his search for sites and the results of excavations.

Sankalia's method is empirical, his goal is genetic. His ultimate aim was to discover and understand the early cultures from their earliest beginnings. The tools and the traits yielded the knowledge of the past and took him back to the roots. His method was not to stop at Neolithic but go further down to Mesolithic and ultimately to Palaeolithic. For his tools he spread his net far and wide—Gujarat, Maharashtra, Narbada Valley, and Kashmir. He excavated the most unlikely sites—Burzhom in Kashmir Valley to the arid areas of Peninsular India to the Mewar Plateau surrounded by the Aravallis. He and his students, now some of the major figures in Indian archaeology, literally ransacked the entire country—the Garo Hills, the Orissa highlands, the Kerala coast and lateritic plateaus, Konkan, the arid Rajasthan, the Eastern Ghats, and Tamilnadu coast—in search of early cultures. At the back of his mind Sankalia had a lurking conviction, may be even fear, that generalisations had to have wider validity and applications in order to be scientific and for this every kind of site must be searched for. Surprisingly, he succeeded brilliantly in combining both the components of his method—extensive search for sites and intensive excavation at each site. It is obvious that the sites located at such great distances from each other would all be associated with an enormous diversity of environmental complexes. Environment has two components : environmental setting and environmental resources. A terrace is an environmental setting while the soil and vegetation on it constitute the environmental resources. Sankalia insisted on as much care to be given on the analysis of the setting as on the resource endowments. The early cultures were essentially site specific in their sustenance. The earlier the culture the more rooted it had to be in the local setting and more dependent it had to be on the site resources. The growth of early culture was site specific. Sankalia himself and his students and colleagues trained by him investigated the valleys, coasts, dunes, and terraces as intensively as they deeply studied the soil, vegetation, animals, crops, and climate and geology. The knowledge of all these fields was absolutely indispensable to understand the relationship of culture and nature at the very beginnings of human culture. Sankalia was not an environmentalist, neither an environmental determinist. The early cultures had to sustain themselves by exploiting the natural resources of the locality by the skill they were just beginning to invent, to develop, and to acquire and in the process the early cultures were modifying the environment, both setting and resources. Our method must aim not only at what was there but also how what was there came to be what was, in brief, the processes of modification, alteration, deflection, and destruction. Sauer reminds us repeatedly of the same goal and the associated methods (Sauer, 1938, pp. 765-775; Sauer, 1947, pp. 1-25; and Sauer, 1956, pp. 46-69). Sankalia's method is definitely analytical in the sense it has been used by Rouse (Rouse, 1972, p. 97). Sankalia discovers all possible kinds of remains in an effort to learn the nature of local archaeology. Essentially his method was holistic— he was excavating all things natural and cultural because these were indispensable to him in constructing culture-nature relationships of that particular period. Sankalia's method was not really stratigraphical or chronological. His method was to reconstruct the account of a particular period and then of a period before this or a period after that. To do analytical, not synthetical accounting was his method. To achieve this he was sieving out the remnants of one period from the preceding and succeeding. His grouping was for cultures of a particular place and a period (Sankalia, 1949, pp. 28-34; Sankalia, 1955, pp. 28-37; Sankalia, 1956, pp. 275-284; Sankalia, 1959, pp. 182-183; Sankalia, 1961, pp. 28-36; Sankalia, 1962, pp. 31-39; and Sankalia, 1969). Although Sankalia's method was essentially analytical he does synthesize and at two levels : 1. the site and the locality and 2. all the sites and localities. At the latter level he sets out to discuss the similarities and differences. From here he moves to trace the antecedents. These are the steps in a method that must be adopted increasingly by the cultural geographers of India in order to make their studies answer a description of a truly genetic human geography. Sankalia always places the artefact and natural elements in the complete or excavated assemblage of the locality archaeology as its integral part, the kind of kulturkreise that the Viennese school of anthropologists advocated in their ethnographic studies. Sankalia's method is to reconstruct a culture from the field evidences.

The Pleistocene Environment

Sankalia's archaeology is basically a Pleistocene archaeology. In emphasising this focus he comes closest to both Sauer and Butzer and provides directions to the cultural geographers of India (Sankalia, 1952, pp. 43-50; Sankalia, 1957, pp. 123-135; Sankalia, 1973, pp. 211-221; Sankalia, 1969, pp. 16-26; Sauer, 1944, pp. 529-573; Sauer, 1948, pp. 65-77; Sauer, 1957, pp. 29-43; and Butzer, 1964). Sankalia introduces the discussion of Pleistocene environment directly as a theme for its sake and indirectly as an integral and important part of the setting in which the drama of the early man's life was played.

Why is Pleistocene environment so important in Sankalian archaeology ? Why it must be so significant to the cultural geography of India ?

Sankalian archeology is essentially a search for concrete, material object evidence which he used in the reconstruction of early man's life through Pleistocene and Holocene. The beginnings are embedded in the Pleistocene and their occurrences, origin, and evolution are related to the environment then prevailing — environmental settings and environmental resources. Open, flat plains and terraces constituting the setting and the stones for tools and animals for game constituted the resources.

Pleistocene setting was conducive to the factory sites location of the early stone age man. Mohapatra, a distinguished student of Sankalia who comes closest to the practitioners of the cultural geography of India and their points of view, suggested that the Pleistocene setting most relevant to Sankalia archaeology and to the students investigating the beginnings of stone age cultures coincided essentially with the Siwalik Orogeny that occurred at the end of the Mindel glaciation (Mohapatra, 1979, pp. 107-135). The cultural man appears, sensu stricto, only in the post-Siwalik environmental setting. Man-nature or culture-nature interaction so basic, so fundamental to cultural geography was beginning to be established in the Middle Pleistocene and began maturing in the Late Pleistocene to Holocene (Sankalia, 1974, p. 15). From Sankalia's exhaustive and masterly synthesis, which only he could have dared to attempt and which only he did accomplish with such magnificient success, the cultural geographers of India learn about the distribution of the early stone-age cultures during the Pleistocene and their regional pattern in India. Not only the static pattern descriptive of one part of the Pleistocene but of all the patterns of all the parts. From this one could, with reasonably strong assurance of validity, interpret the evolution of the regional pattern of distribution and the embedded meanings of the changing patterns and evolution of the character of culture — nature interactions, over the entire country and in specific regions. A perusal of the published literature bearing on the Pleistocene ecology and archaeology tends to reveal a set of settings where the stone age culture sites are located. The most recurrent settings and the embedded sites are found near water—river valleys, springs, lakes, and sea-coasts. The early man's perennial locomotions were motivated by an unending search for water. Once water was discovered there was a temporary halt to his expansive movements. Sankalia's discussion of each individual region of early stone age culture reveals a huge amount of information on the site attributes. His discussion establishes beyond doubt that the early stone age culture sites are distributed literally in every part of India except the very high zones of the Himalayas which have always been in the physiographic context the classic zones of isolation, of inaccessibility and where habitability conditions during the Pleistocene for the early stone age cultures were unconditionally adverse. The enormous spread rooted in the regional and local ecology of the sites do amply suggest that in most cases, if not all, the cultures were indigenous, developed out of the local environmental settings and resources as independent origins and their subsequent development was unilinear. The sites indicate an absence of diffusion of early stone age cultures from one or a few hearths.

Within the river valleys the preferred sites throughout the country are the terraces and the high banks. These geomorphic features had several advantages for the siting of the early stone age cultures. It can be said that it is on the sanctury of the terraces that the early man lived and died (Mukerji, 1979, pp. 98-107; Sen, 1955, pp. 175-184; Mohapatra, 1979, pp. 107-135; Sankalia, 1974, p. 117; Sankalia, 1969, pp. 16-26; Joshi, 1973, pp. 101-116; Joshi, et. al., 1974, pp. 369-374; Joshi, et. al., 1975, pp. 464-465; de Terra, 1939, pp. 101-118; Zeuner, 1950; Vasisht, 1985; Bose, N.K. et. al., 1958, pp. 49-55; and Karir, 1985). The terrace sites are universal throughout India and are of particular significance to early stone age cultures.

The terraces, genetically, display a large variety : fluvial, coastal, lacustrine, aeolian, fluvio-glaciatile, glacio-fluviatile, Kankariferous, and compound. They belong to different periods : Middle Pleistocene, Upper Pleistocene, and Holocene and even late Recent, thus representing a large diversity in the complex of environments. Although the genetic and lithological types are characteristically distributed and their distribution is spatially segregated several types do occur in the same region in several parts of the country. In Kashmir one encounters fluvial, fluvio-aeolian, fluvio-glaciatile, and morainic terraces; while in the Outer Himalayas in both the Dun and Siwalik Hills the preponderant terraces are fluvial in origin and alluvial in lithological composition. The early stone age cultures had a remarkable range of terrace sites to live on and work with.

The terraces attracted the early stone age cultures with their proximity to water, level terrain and open lands, and abundant surface occurrence of gravels and pebbles. Water gave an assurance of immediate and permanent survival and rootedness in a particular territory which in course of time would be claimed by a particular group as its own. Indeed water and the site adjacent to it endowed the territory with the quality of belongingness. Water was needed only for drinking and perhaps an occasional bath and the quantity needed was small. The supply and the source were perennial. The sources also attracted the animals to be identified for chase and subsequent hunting. Both directly and indirectly terrace sites adjacent to water were the most significant and hence recurrent. The level, open terrain, covered with small shrubs or short grass helped enormously the early stone age culture groups to chase the animals with little difficulty and hunt them down at strategic points where the movements were hindered by a sudden break in terrain formed by a drainage line or a prominence and the animals got tired and fell more of exhaustion than of the actual attack by stone missiles. Vasisht, on the basis of extensive evidences of palaeontology, suggests the presence of a large variety of grazing animals during the early Middle Pleistocene and the Pinjore stage. The climate was fast becoming cold and grassland vegetation was spreading over the entire terrace country while the arboreal cover withdrew to the secluded and shaded niches of the amphitheatrical headwaters zones of the small stream valleys. Equus, Bovids, and Proboscideans, all heavy animals but could also run fast. Mainly these were non-predatory herbivores. The animals were heavy and could not possibly run up the dissected, steep slopes of the Siwalik Hills. They could be chased and the early stone age culture man did chase them and finally kill them. Chasing on the terraces and on the wide gravelly—clayey—sandy beds of the choes was not at all difficult. Terraces were extensive terrain units, running for several miles along the choes and streams of various size (Vasisht, 1985, pp. 180-182; Sankalia, 1962, pp. 31-39; Sankalia, 1974, pp. 220-225; Mukerji, 1979, pp. 98-107; and Mukerji, 1976, pp. 1-19). The terraces are everywhere composed of a mixed lithology, kankar, clay, sand, gravels, and pebbles. The chert and quartzitic pebbles were abundant, both on the surface and sub-surface horizons and were used widely in the making of pebble tools of various shapes by the method of percussion and flaking. These are the well-known pebble tools widely spread in their occurrences on all the terraces and used by the early Stone Age cultures to chase, hunt, and kill the game animals. Missiles, choppers, scrapers, pounders, and borers were all sculptured out of the chert and quartzite pebbles. On all counts the terraces were the most recurrent sites and the most conducive for the localization of the early Stone Age culture groups.

Caves were the next widespread sites of the Pleistocene and the early Neolithic cultures. Sankalia has discussed at length several of these sites (Sankalia, 1974, pp. 209, 215, 224, and 230). Except for the few caves at Burzahom dug into the Karewa formation terraces of the Kashmir Valley the caves are all but absent, as the early Stone Age culture sites, in the Himalayas. Limestone caves are abundant in the Outer and the Lesser Himalayas where the beds of limestone and dolomite are widespread. These caves are located at 5000 ft. and above. It may be suggested that the main reason of their not having been used by early Stone Age cultures was the excessive cold experienced by that elevation zone during most parts of the Pleistocene and also the Holocene. Most of these caves are small and moist and would not have been conducive to the sheltering of families of more than two or three members at the most. High relief, rugged mountain slopes would have thwarted any attempt to chase, hunt, and kill the game animals. The cave sites are typical of the peninsular plateau region (Sankalia, 1974, pp. 215-224). These caves are generally located near a source of water and obviously provided shelter in an environment too hostile for open-air living. The land was infested with carnivores (Felis and Viverra species), Rodentia Perissodactyla, and Artiodactyla family, animals. The carnivores, in particular, were speed species. The caves provided the cultures with assured security and protection from the carnivores. The large heaps of bone tools along with stone ones do firmly indicate that animals were being hunted. The flakes, blades, cores, and chips yielded by the Peninsular caves also indicate the presence of game animals that were hunted in large numbers on the open savannah landscape associated with the caves located in the interior rainshadow regions.

The Himalayan caves are strikingly developed in the Kashmir Karewa formations as the Late Palaeolithic-Neolithic culture sites. The Karewas are essentially lacustrine and soft sediments are characteristic here. The Karewas form extensive terraces of great thickness of about 2000 metres and are located at varying elevations even upto an elevation of 4000 metres. The Karewas, lithologically, are comprised of silt, marl, and partly compacted conglomerate (Gupta, et. al. 1979, p. 77). At several places loess also occurs intermixed with the Karewa sediments. Of the two Karewas, the lower and the upper, the latter is significant for the early Stone Age cultures. In their origin the Upper Karewas are related to the Second Glacial and Second Interglacial epochs (Gupta, 1979, p.78). The sites have been discovered in the pit-dwellings, which can be considered as caves of a kind, which have been dug into the soft Karewa sediments. Burzahom, Gurfkral, and Martand are the most important pit-dwelling sites (Sankalia, 1974, pp. 298-299). The artefact collection from these dwellings are evidence of a Neolithic stage of culture that was more important than the Palaeolithic elements. Man was hunting animals, collecting food, fishing, and growing cereals in surplus. Equally clear is the suggestion of sedentarisation of life pattern. Ground stone tools (polished) were abundant and put to a variety of uses. The rationale of pit-dwellings is not at all clear but possibly it was related to extreme cold on the surface and the surroundings and the pits provided the absolutely necessary warmth. Cereals could be stored in protection from cold, humidity (snow) and animals.

There is an enormous amount of facts which can be extracted from the study of the sites of Early Stone Age Cultures which can be synthesised to produce the picture of the Pleistocene environment—terrain, climate, vegetation, animals, soils, rivers, springs, groundwater, lakes, sediments, and minerals. Everywhere the stone age culture groups interacted with these components and used them as the sites of their localization and as the resources they exploited to assure their survival.

The Pleistocene environment unravelled by Sankalia and rolled out before us is really a striking synthesis of site and resources and the impress of culture on it. Site is the sum of all natural resources that man has at his disposal in the area (Sauer, 1938, pp. 33-35). Site is the sum of natural conditions available for the inhabiting people to work with (Kniffen, 1960, p. 22). Whatever site was chosen by the stone age cultures of India, as discussed in great details by Sankalia, for the cultural geographers of India these were the nexus through which the interrelationship of culture and nature worked itself out.

Sankalia does not always attempt to discuss the Pleistocene environment per se but the details of the sites, the tools, and animal and plant remains together throw challenges to the cultural geographers to reconstruct the site and resources and their manipulation through particular technologies. Members of the same site group are located in a vast regional array and their meanings in terms of the Pleistocene environment and culture relationships would be obviously different. Terraces, fluvial, glacial, coastal, occur in different regional settings, in the Himalayas, the Lower Ganga Valley, the Peninsula, and the semi-arid upper North-Indian plains, each with a different complex of terrain, climate, flora, fauna, soils, and vicinal locations. Sankalia's investigations, as would be expected of an archaeologist, concern the vast relics of material culture traits and features of each one of them recovered from sites embedded in specific regional settings. The relevance of this investigation to the cultural geographers is its support for deducing the life patterns and culture-nature relationships of one particular period and changes through different periods in their regional contact. From Sankalia we must learn of the significance of the Pleistocene and Holocene environments in which the early cultures had their beginnings. The most revolutionary shifts in the environments and the cultures interacting with them really took place in these periods. The most rudimentary tools of survival and their related use in a limited array of activities were invented by different culture groups living in far-flung areas in India during the Pleistocene period and the process continued without any interruption well into the Holocene. Within this period the most revolutionary and significant changes appeared in the Pleistocene environment : climatic fluctuations became marked and impressive, vegetation cover underwent corresponding cyclic changes, animal complexes and soils (leaving behind the evidences of palaeosols) expanded and shrunk alternately in species diversity and their living patterns. Cultural artefacts responded to these stupendous changes. During the Pleistocene and early Holocene the regional cultures and trait complexes developed their differentiation, particularly remarkable was the definitive distinction of the pebble tool complex of North India from the handaxe tool complex of the Peninsular India. We learn from Sankalia, and this is a repetitive process in the Indian historical development, the movement of cultures from west to east even during the later phases of the Pleistocene and through the entire Holocene. Sankalia infers about the processes and the environment with great caution. He emphasises that palynological and palaeontological data are absolutely necessary to reconstruct the environment with an assurance of validity. However, he surmises, speculates that an earlier wet phase was succeeded by a drier phase and the early man was witness to this climatic and landscape change (Sankalia, 1974, pp. 136-137; and Sauer, 1944, pp. 529-573; Sauer, 1948, pp. 65-77; Sauer, 1957, pp. 29-43; and Sauer, 1932, pp. 1-32). Sankalia's scientific temper and rigour took him to entirely unexpected sites in search of the early stone age cultures and their environments : clay mounds, ashmounds, high river-banks, immobilised old fossil sand dunes. The cultural geographers whose concern must be with the spatial expressions of culture growth would realise that Sankalia's data, method, and method of reconstructing the Pleistocene environments are absolutely necessary in their own task.

During the later parts of the Pleistocene and Holocene took place the most revolutionary change in the culture-nature interactions through the evolution of an altogether new technology of survival and culture growth, the domestication of plants and animals. With the ushering in of the Neolithic the array of domesticated heliophiles expanded continuously and rapidly by the deliberate or fortuitous opening of the forest canopies and creating sunlit windows (Ames, 1939). The domestication of plants and animals in the later Pleistocene and early Holocene freed early cultures from the rigours and uncertainties of survival and helped produce a little more surplus that could be stored for the season when the crops were not grown and also for limited barter exchange, the total result was a major step forward in the over-all evolution of culture in all its aspects. An element of sedentarisation was quietly introduced in the mode of living, the territory claimed became delimited, and the culture provided some respite for experimentation with nature. Contrary to the prevailing view of the ecological conditions of the Pleistocene, it was a period of sudden and major changes. Neotectonism and secular and non-secular climatic changes were prominent and highly influential, posing a vast spectrum of challenges to early cultures all over India, the responses to which ultimately lead to major modifications in culture-nature interactions.

Pleistocene was not a continuously stable environment. There were several advances and retreats of the climatic zones and the corresponding vegetation, fauna, and soil groups. Even though there was a rapid transition from the Pleistocene pluvial conditions to the Holocene desiccation the major cultural advances were effected in the well-watered hill-valley tracts (Butzer, 1964, pp. 435-37). The continuously changing conditions of the Pleistocene were reflected in the advances, breaks, and declines of cultures — the Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, the Mesolithic, and Neolithic are not only defined and characterised by a constellation of typical stone and metal tools and implements but are themselves embedded in the prevailing, particular, environmental conditions of a part of the time span of the Pleistocene. The roots of the enormous diversity of cultures in the entire human history are founded deep in the Pleistocene. Within the different time-segments of the Pleistocene one could discover the gradually expanding complexity of cultures — achievements recorded by implements and patterns of culture-nature interactions—created by the intermingling of the prevailing with the relicts of earlier cultures. Sankalia's research directly and indirectly, on the Pleistocene environment has a great relevance to the cultural geographers of India engaged in the task of reconstructing the evolution of culture-nature relationships in different regions from the earliest beginnings. It was Sankalia who through excavations at specific sites and his brilliant synthesis of a large number of such excavations established the significance of the Pleistocene environment and throws challenging questions to the cultural geographers of India to identify the elements of this environment, their changes in response to natural events and in response to cultural activities, in particular, the preservation and destruction. Sankalia has demonstrated not only the significance of the Pleistocene but also that of archaeology to the understanding of its environment. He literally asked the tools on where they were formed, under which conditions, and received the most satisfying, convincing answers.

Material Culture

Through the entire history of development of cultural geography all over the world its spokesmen and practitioners have claimed that material culture forms the core of their discipline. Material culture not only expresses in the most immediate and powerful manner culture-nature interactions but also the needs created and prescribed and permitted by the value systems of a culture. Material culture is the symbol of the terrestrial existence of a culture in every period of its historical development. It describes the mode of living, the vast spectrum of natural resources it comes to terms with, and the intricate patterns of cultural transformations of nature. All the principal themes of cultural geography can be applied to the investigation of material culture. Material culture is the aggregate of the technical baggage of a culture. No culture can survive in a particular region characterised by a particular ecology without an adequate and a relevant material culture. Material culture at the same time, is both environmental and historical. It must evolve in order to be alive, to be relevant, and to be functional. It can do so only by responding to ecology, adapting to it and adapting it to the purpose of mode of living. Material culture is not merely the surrogate of material traits of culture but also the material expression of non-material culture trait. A Buddhist spinning wheel, a material object, is the objective correlate of a non-material trait, religion, and a *havana kunda*, a material object, is the objective correlate of the non-material trait of the worship of *agni*, (fire) an essential component of Hindu religion. Indeed every item of material culture has to be understood for its origin, development, and function only in terms of the non-material, ideational, trait whose purpose it fulfils. Poetry, philosophy, religion, music, dance, and painting and other ideational culture traits have their translations into material objects which are endowed with meanings derived from the traits themselves. Material culture is created out of both natural and cultural raw produce by technology that must be learned and the learning must be diffused from generation to generation and from one cultural group to another. One material culture component of the total baggage is genetically and functionally related to another and there is discoverable growth of the same through stages. It is because of the technological foundation and objects reflecting culture that material culture has attracted the notice and interest of archaeologists and prehistorians all over the world. Spier argues that material culture is a product of man's technology (Spier, 1968, pp. 130-159; and Spier, 1970). The medium, the technique, and the artifacts are all associated with each other intrinsically, one leading on to the other. What makes material culture so eminently amenable to cultural-geographical analysis is its expression in tools, technology, cultural processes of all kind, and the raw material provided initially by nature. Prehistorian's discovery is tool, artifact, and tools and artifacts symbolise the entire gamut of material culture. Sankalia was not merely excavating the sites, he was discovering tools of different cultures, cultural stages, technologies, material cultures, and the ecological settings and resources. Here again, Sankalia becomes highly relevant to the cultural geography of India by putting across us an enormous array of tools of different cultures created at different sites in different periods to different purposes. Where the cultural geographer differs from a museum ethnologist and comes closer to prehistorians and archaeologists, such as Sankalia, is his major concern with mode of living in different areas, the mode of extraction and utilisation and the modification of ecologies. Indeed, the cultural geographers are analysing two different kinds of interrelationships: (i) between the tools and artefacts, comprising material culture, and (ii) between the tools and artefacts on the one hand and the nature, the ecology, on the other hand. Without the second the first has no real reference point neither has it the real substance for cultural geography. It is in the translation into the culture-ecological interactions that material culture attains its most meaningful purpose. Sankalia's pre-eminence is located in the discovery of tools and artefacts and their significance to the environmental context in which they occur. Sankalia directly challenges the cultural geographers of India to analyse the interrelationships, their evolution, and their resultant contribution to the creation of material culture of individual culture and then, perhaps, to hypothesise the over-arching culture delineation that spans across and subsumes the individual cultures of a larger region. Sankalia hardly ever used the term material culture but his research remained integrated with it throughout his scientific career. Sankalia has provided us with an incredibly large bulk of tools and artefacts and, for most of them, their cultural and environmental interpretations. Cultural geographers of India might as well begin from them and raise questions on the contributions of material culture to culture as a whole and the application of their favourite themes on diffusion, evolution, decay, replacement, ecology, area, and landscape. Sankalia's tools and technology and artefact range in stage from Lower Palaeolithic to Neolithic—Chalcolithic. Each of these has its own characteristic baggage of tools, technology, and artefacts. The cultural geographers of India have hardly ever given attention to material culture. It needs no emphasising that the material culture be investigated, at least documented as fully as possible, with all speed before they are swept off the ground by the thunderous waves of innovations overwhelming one after the other. The only investigation, an admirable synthesis at the all-India level, ever attempted was N.K. Bose's *Peasant Life in India : A Study in Indian Unity and Diversity.* (Bose, 1961). It is very well known to us that each life activity, farming, fishing, hunting, mining, quarrying and lumbering, inter alia, forming the secular economic complex and sacrifice, prayer, and worship comprising the ritual complex have their own specific tools, procedures, technology, and artefacts and as the activities vary from one region to another so do their associated tools, artefacts, and technology. From these regional patterns must arise the questions of origin, diffusion, independent invention, differentiation in space and time, and convergence and divergence and the cultural geographers of India should feel confident that with their competence and training they could handle these questions. Sankalia's principal aim was to discover the tools, technology, and artefacts and delineate cultures on the basis of these criteria, the job of the cultural geographers of India should be to translate these configurations into spatial dimensions and, in the process, also demonstrate the undeniable convergence of the results of investigations of cultural geographers, cultural historians, and cultural anthropologists. Once the culture area has been delimited, its spatial characteristics, shape, size, the nature of the boundary, and stability and relationships to the regions of stability, regions of change. and regions of isolation, could be identified and investigated. While Sankalia, the prehistorian and archaeologist, is searching for the vertical, temporal, evolutionary meanings, we, the cultural geographers are required to search for the meanings which are horizontal, spatial, and diffusionary and differentiatory. It is surprising that with such a large number of sites of different stages with their assemblage of tools, technology, and artefacts, scattered all over the country the cultural geographers of India have not given any thought of trying to discover the clusters, if any, and from that to proceed on to the construction of culture areas. Also, it is pertinent to expect that some of us will transfer the techniques, concepts, and models evolved by Wissler, Mason, Boas, Dixon,, Kroeber, and Cluckholm. (Wissler, 1910; Mason 1902; Boas, 1888; Dixon 1928; Kroeber, 1902; and Kluckholm, 1971). The cultural geographer of India, using the relics excavated by Sankalia and allocated by him to the cultures which created them, should be able to identify the zones of assimilations – the zones where across the boundaries of culture areas cultures are exchanged, selectively or entirely, and integrated partly or wholly. These zones of assimilation could also suggest the possibility of the subsuming of one culture area by the other and result in the operation of expansion diffusion– a favourite model of diffusion among the cultural geographers. We can also possibly identify and delimit the zones of neutral status which will keep the adjacent cultures spatially separate and hinder their adopting mutually the traits of each other. Sankalia's excavations have yielded an enormous wealth of tools and artefacts produced by different prehistoric cultures located in different and distant parts of India. The cultural geographers can thus legitimately feel interested in preparing the distribution of each of these tools and artefacts and the associated technology, value system, and function. Once these distributions are constructed the cultural geographers must feel emboldened to work out the reconstructions of the origins, hearths, routes, stages and times of dispersal and the spatial-temporal patterns of relocation and location—the changes in the spatial patterns. It is important for us to remember that Sankalia is concerned entirely with the stage cultures associated with specific sites but does not attempt the all-India regional patterns and very largely ignores the questions central to the investigations of the cultural geographers. However, his relevance to us, and his relevance is very great indeed, is in the wealth of tools, artefacts, and technology that he has excavated and laid before us. It is for us now to understand the distribution of cleaver handaxe, points, borers, scrapers, choppers, celts, pottery, food economy, primitive hunting and tillage implements, and ornaments. In Sankalia's storehouse of tools and artefacts there is more than enough to reconstruct the distribution of not only one cultural period but all cultural periods, Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Chalcolithic. The distributions could easily reveal how some tools and artefacts survive through all the cultural periods and some originating in the first, gradually get shrunk in their distribution in the later phases and then fade out completely. Others originate at different stages and continue to survive through all the subsequent stages either in their original or in changed distributions. When Sankalia talks about origin he thinks of the cultural stage and a period in the Pleistocene or Holocene. Our job is to add to these coordinates of origin the spatial origins or hearths and to do so for the individual material culture traits that the mode of living required at different historical periods. What is equally important for the cultural geographer to remember is the phenomenon of ethnographic present. One can trace the Palaeolithic or Neolithic tools and implements among the surviving simpler cultures (we call them tribes for no satisfying reasons !) prevailing in different parts of India.

In limiting himself to an inventory of tools and artefacts and marginal interpretations in terms of their functions, environment, and mode of living, Sankalia, indirectly, came very close to the materialistic view of material culture advocated by White, L.A. for whom evolution is the dominant theory of development. Harrison elaborates upon White's view of material culture by emphasising that this consists of tools, weapons, utensils, machines, ornaments, religious images, clothing and other ponderable objects produced or used by human (Harrison 1940). Most material needs are immediately related to man's primary need, of procuring food. Investigation of subsistence must therefore embrace much of material culture (Parker, 1910, and Waugh, 1916).

In sharp contrast to the materialistic view of material culture stands the idealistic view of culture exemplified in a brilliant manner by Osgood in his work on the northern Athabaskan cultures. (Osgood, 1940). In the perspective of the currently prevailing thoughts of perception, phenomenology, and human spatial behaviour, all subsumed within the field of cultural geography, the idealistic interpretation of material cultures assumes a highly significant status in their studies. The tools, implements, artefacts forming the Sankalia corpus of excavated items must be used by the cultural geographers of India to discover, howsoever tentatively, their behavioural associations. In doing so we shall be applying to Sankalia's data Osgood's suggestion that material culture be considered as comprising of ideas about objects external to the mind resulting from human behaviour as well as ideas about human behaviour required to manufacture these objects (Osgood, 1940, p. 26). Since Sankalia did not attempt this interpretation and thus blanked out an important component of the early cultures of India, the cultural geographers might well attempt this investigation to complement Sankalia's portrayal of culture and also expand the horizons of its knowledge.

Finally, Sankalia's data should inspire some of the cultural geographers of India to consider the surviving question of whether between the stage of hunting and the stage of sedentary agriculture the early cultures lived in the stage of nomads. This question originally raised by Hahn has been one of the central problems of the cultural geographical investigations (Kramer, 1967, p. 83). In the early cultures of India there does not seem to be a stage of nomadism during the Mesolithic between the hunting stage of the Palaeolithic and the farming stage of the Neolithic. It does seem attractive to suggest that the middle stage of nomadism was missed in India. At least this is evidenced by the absence of material culture related to nomadism. This could be a major critique of the widely accepted 'Three Stage Theory'.

Settlement Archaeology

Easily one of the most significant and relevant components of material culture in archaeology, prehistory, cultural anthropology, and cultural geography is the landscape expression of material culture. Kniffen has proposed that the material details of the landscape are the geographer's lore and the cultural geographers must first group systematically the forms constructed by man in living on the earth (Kniffen, 1974, p. 252). Indeed, the immediate element of material culture that must be the core of the cultural geographical investigations is the settlement landscape. To this view Sankalia responded in the most magnificent manner. He excavated Nevasa, Navdatoli, Jorwe, Burzahom, Ahar, and Inamgaon, to name but a few of the settlements, most of them of the Neolithic farmers (Sankalia, 1974). These settlements display a concentrated pattern (Rouse, 1972, p. 100). The concentrated patterns have been created in the case of India almost entirely by small, sedentary farming communities. Sankalia provides some data for our reconstruction of the major process of settling : colonization (Sankalia, 1973, pp. 86-91). Colonization, by its very nature, during the prehistoric times, could not have been continuous but scattered, in different directions, reflecting different ecologies based more upon unsure explorations of the territory through which expansion was taking place. This process of colonisation should be an attractive theme for the cultural geographers of India. Our questions should be on the area colonized, the processes of acquiring and clearing the territory colonized, and the creation of the settlement landscape. The earliest settlements must have been the Neolithic farming communities. In a masterly synthesis Sankalia presents the reconstructions of a whole series of settlements and houses (Sankalia, 1974; Sankalia, 1960, pp. 140-163). He uses evidences in his reconstructions from unexpected artefacts such as figures of dancers used to identify the four stages of Navdatoli (Sankalia, 1959, pp. 182-218). Sankalia proposes and illustrates with his evidences of artefacts that the settlements of the earliest farmers did not freeze in their evolution and ultimately developed into urban complexes (Sankalia, 1962, pp. 31-39; Sankalia, 1962, pp. 66-104; and Sankalia, 1962, pp. 60-83). Sankalia even attempted to identify the Iranian influence on early Indo-Pakistan culture including settlement character and to discover the ecological background of the Chalcolithic cultures (Sankalia, 1970, pp. 59-80; and Sankalia, 1974/75, pp. 577-580). The cultural geographers of India can learn from Sankalia's research the evolution of the house types in rural India which they identify and investigate presently. The beginnings of the modern rural house type with enclosed coutryard must be traced back to the proto-Historic rural houses. As in the case of settlements and urbanisation Sankalia was committed to exploding the myths. In his classic *Ramayana : Myth or Reality,* Sankalia, remains a Hindu scholar and retains his scientific scholarship—a lesson we the cultural geographers must learn and learn afresh from him continuously. Lastly, Sankalia encouraged his students and colleagues to move out radially in search of altogether new problems in archaeogeomorphology, archaeobotany, archaeo-settlement, archaeopalaeontology, and the study of scriptures. His was the search for comprehensive, holistic reconstruction.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

1. Ames, Oakes. (1939). *Economic Annuals and Human Cultures,* Cambridge, Harvard Botanical Museum.
2. Boas, F. (1888). *The Central Eskimo, Sixth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology,* Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institute.
3. Bose, N.K.; Sen, D; and Ray, G. (1958). 'Geological and Cultural Evidence of the Stone Age in Mayurbhanj', *Man in India,* Vol 38, No. 1, pp. 49-55.
4. Bose, N.K.; (1961). *Peasant Life in India : A Study in Unity and Diversity,* Calcutta, Anthropological Survey of India.
5. Butzer, Karl W. (1964). *Environment and Archaeology,* London, Muthuen.
6. Dixon, R.B. (1928). *The Building of Cultures,* New York, Scribner's.
7. Gupta, V.J.; Suneja, I.J.; and Chopra, S.R.K. (1979). 'Stratigraphy and Palaeoecology of Quaternary, Sediments of North West Himalaya' (ed.) S.R.K. Chopra *Early Man in North-West India,* New Delhi, Allied Publishers, pp. 66-98.
8. Harrison, H.S. (1930). 'Material Culture' *Encyclopedia Britannica.*
9. Joshi, R.V. (1973). 'Quaternary Studies in the Sub-Himalayas' *Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute,* Vol. 33, Nos. 1 to 4, pp. 101-116.
10. Joshi, R.V.; Rajguru, S.N.; Pappu, R.J.; and Bopardikar, B.P. (1974). 'Quaternary Glaciation and Paleolithic Sites in the Liddar Valley', *World Archaeology,* Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 369-379.
11. Joshi, R.V.; Rajguru, S.N.; Badam, G.L.; and Khanna, P.C. (1979). 'Early and Middle Palaeolithic Tools from River Terraces in the Saketi Area, Markanda Valley', *Current Science,* Vol. 44, No. 13, pp. 464-465.

12. Karir, Baldev Singh (1985). *Geomorphology and Stone Age Culture of Northwestern India*, New Delhi, Sundeep Prakashan, pp. 1-40.

13. Kluckholm, C.W.W. and Kluckhohn, L.W. (1971). *Navaho Material Culture*, Cambridge, Belknap Press.

14. Kniffen, F.B. (1974) 'Material Culture in the Geographic Interpretation of the Landscape', *The Human Mirror*, (ed.) Miles Richardson, Baton Rogue, Louisiana State University Press, pp. 252-267.

15. Kniffen, F.B. (1960). 'To know the Land and its People', *Landscape*, Vol. 9, p. 22.

16. Kramer, Fritz L. (1967). 'Eduard Hahn and the end of the "Three Stage Theory", *Geographical Review*, Vol 57, No. 1, pp. 73-90.

17. Kroeber, A. (1902). 'The Arapaho' ' *Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 18, parts. 1-2.

18. Mason, O.T. (1902) *Aboriginal American Basketry*, *Report, U.S. National Museum*, Washington, D.C. pp. 171-548.

19. Mohapatra, G.C. (1979). 'Cultural Growth in Prehistoric North West India', (ed.) S.R.K. Chopra, *Early Man in Northwest India*, New Delhi, Allied Publishing House, pp. 107-135.

20. Mukerji, A.B. (1976). 'The Choe Terraces of the Siwalik Hills : Morphogenetic Analysis', *Revue de Geomorphologie Dynamique*, Vol. 25, No. 1 pp. 1-19.

21. Mukerji, A.B. (1979). 'The Early Man's Habitat in the Sivalik Hills : Some Statements on the Geomorphological Setting (ed.) S.R.K. Chopra, *Early Man in Northwest India*, New Delhi, Allied Publishing House, pp. 98-107.

22. Osgood, C. (1940). *Inqualik Material Culture*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 22.

23. Parker, A.C. (1910). *Iroguois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants*, *Bulletin*, New *York, State Museum*, No. 144.

24. Richardson, M. (1974). 'Images, Objects, and the Human Story', *The Human Mirror*, (ed.) Miles Richardson, Baton Rogue, Louisiana State University Press. p. 12.

25. Rouse, I. (1972). 'Settlement Patterns in Archaeology', (eds.) Peter J. Ucko, Ruth Triangham, and G.W. Dimbleby, *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, Gloucester Crescent, Duckworth, pp. 95-109.

26. Sankalia, H.D. (1949). 'Early Primitive Microlithic Culture and People of the Gujarat', *American Antiquity*, Vol. 51, pp. 28-34.

27. Sankalia, H.D. (1952). 'The Condition of Rajputana in the Past as Deduced from Archaeological Evidence', *Bulletin, National Institute of Sciences of India*. No. 1, pp. 43-50.

28. Sankalia, H.D. (1955). 'Navdatoli Dancers', *Antiquity*, Vol. 29, pp. 28-37.

29. Sankalia, H.D. (1956). 'The Microlithic Industry of Langhnaj', *Journal, Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. 18, pp. 275-284.

30. Sankalia, H.D. and Joshi, R.V. (1957). 'Man in the Arid and Semi-Arid Regions of the

Peninsular India', *Bulletin Deccan College*, Vol. 18, pp. 123-135.

31. Sankalia, H.D. (1958). 'New Light on the Aryan Invasion of India', *Illustrated London News*, September 24, pp. 478-479.

32. Sankalia, H.D. (1959). 'The Four Phases of Ancient Navdatoli Revealed in Curious and Beautiful Pots' *Illustrated London News*, September 5, pp. 182-183.

33. Sankalia, H.D. (1960). 'Houses and Habitations Through the Ages', *Bulletin, Deccan College and Research Institute*, Vol. 20, pp. 140-163.

34. Sankalia, H.D. (1961). 'The Copper and Stone Age Pottery of Maheshwar-Navdatoli', *Marg*, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 28-36.

35. Sankalia, H.D. (1962). 'Courses Toward Urban Life in India', *Courses Towards Urban Life*, (eds.) R.J. Braidwood and G.R. Willy, New York, pp. 60-83.

36. Sankalia, H.D. (1962). 'From Food Collection to Urbanization in India', *Indian Anthrolopolgy*, (eds.) T.N. Madan and Gopala Sarana, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, pp. 66-104.

37. Sankalia, H.D. (1962). 'Earliest Farmers in the Narmada Valley', *Indo-Asian Culture*, pp. 31-39.

38. Sankalia, H.D. (1969). 'Early Man in Ice Age Kashmir', *Science Today*, Vol. 4, No. 6, pp. 16-26.

39. Sankalia, H.D. (1969). *Mesolithic and Premesolithic Industries from Excavations at Sanganakalla*, Poona, Deccan College.

40. Sankalia, H.D. (1970). 'Iranian Influence on Early Indo-Pakistan Culture', *Indica*, Vol. 6, pp. 59-80.

41. Sankalia, H.D. (1973) 'Radiocarbon Dates in India, their consistency, and Cultural Implications', *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, (eds.) D.P. Agrawal and A. Ghosh, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, pp. 211-221.

42. Sankalia, H.D. (1973). *Ramayana : Myth or Reality*, Delhi, Peoples Publishing House.

43. Sankalia, H.D. (1973). 'Prehistoric Colonization in India', *World Archaeology*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 86-91.

44. Sankalia, H.D. (1974). *The Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan*, Poona, Deccan College, p. 15.

45. Sankalia, H.D. (1974-75). 'Ecological Background of the Chalcolithic Cultures of India', *The Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan*, (H.D. Sankalia), Poona, Deccan College, p. 577.

46. Sauer, C.O. (1930). *Pueblo Sites in Southeastern Arizona* Berkeley, University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 3, No. 7, pp. 415-459.

47. Sauer, C.O. (1932). *Aztatlan : Prehistoric Mexican Frontier on the Pacific Coast*, Berkeley, University of California Ibero-American, No. 1, pp. 1-92.

48. Sauer, C.O. (1938). *The Morphology of Landscape*, University of California, Publications in Geography, vol. 2, No. 2, Berkeley, pp. 19-54.

49. Sauer, C.O. (1938) 'Theme of Plant and Animal Destruction in Economic History', *Journal of Farm Economics,* Vol. 20, pp. 765-775.

50. Sauer, C.O. (1941). 'Foreword to Historical Geography', *Annals Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 31, pp. 1-24.

51. Sauer, C.O. (1944). 'A Geographic Sketch of Early Man in America', *Geographical Review,* Vol. 34, pp. 529-573.

52 Sauer, C.O. (1947). 'Early Relations of Man to Plants', *Geographical Review,* Vol. 37, pp. 1-25.

53. Sauer, C.O. (1948). 'Environment and Culture during the Last Deglaciation', *Proceedings, American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 92, pp. 65-77.

54. Sauer, C.O. (1956). 'The Agency of Man on the Earth', (ed.) William L. Thomas, Jr., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth,* Chicago, Chicago University Press, pp. 49-69.

55. Sauer, C.O. (1957). 'The End of the Ice Age and Its Witnesses', *Geographical Review,* Vol. 47.

56. Sen, D. (1955). 'Nalagarh Palaeolithic Culture', *Man in India,* Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 175-184.

57. Spier, R.F.G. (1968). 'Technology and Material Culture', (ed.) James a Clifton, *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology,* Boston, Houghton Miffin, pp. 130-159.

58. Spier, R.F.G. (1970). *From the Hand of Man : Primitive and Preindustrial Technologies.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin.

59. Subbarao, B. (1958). *The Personality of India: Pre- and Protohistoric Foundation of India and Pakistan,* Baroda, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.

60. De Terra, H. (1939). 'The Quaternary Terrace System of the Southern Asia and the Age of Man', *Geographical Review,* pp. 101-118.

61. Vasisht, R.N. (1985). *Antecedents of Early Man in Northwestern India,* New Delhi, Inter-India Publications, pp. 180-182.

62. Waugh, F.W. (1916). *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation,* Memoirs, Geological Survey of Canada, No. 86.

63. Wissler, Clark. (1910). 'Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians', *Anthropological Papers,* Vol. 5, part 1, New York, American Museum of Natural History.

64. Zeuner, F.E. (1950). *The Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat,* Poona, Deccan College.

STUDIES IN THE INDUS SCRIPT : A REVIEW

Devendra Handa

Despite the fact that Harappa had been despoiled extensively and excavated several times by Cunningham who had obtained various antiquities, including a typical Indus seal, collected earlier by a Major Clark, bearing pictographic characters (Cunningham 1875), it was with the excavations carried out there by Daya Ram Sahni from 1921 onwards, and at Mohenjodaro by R.D. Banerji from the following year, that the attention and interest of scholars was drawn to the Indus script found generally on the seals and sometimes on amulets, tablets, chisels, ivory sticks, pots etc. Waddel (1925) believed that the Harappans were Aryans and attempted to read the names of Vedic and Epic heroes on the seals. The attempt was unsuccessful but the general line of thinking was continued by Langdon (1931), Gadd and Smith (1931), Gadd (1932), Ross (1933), etc. Hunter (1934) made the first analytical attempt on the basis of using linguistics and philology to study the structure of the language. He distinguished certain signs as *suffixes* and classified them separately from the *basic signs*. He was of the opinion that it was a distinctive script but bore resemblance to the Sumerian and Elamite scripts of Western Asia. He believed that the Indus script was ideographic originally and its germinal period went back to pre-3000 B.C. Subsequently, it changed to a phonetic script written in syllabic method and this is the form in which it occurs on the seals. He read the script as the names of people and titles and held the opinion that the Indus people were Dravidians or some foreign riverine people. Meriggi (1934) also attempted to decipher the Indus script but shared the same fate as others. Hrozny (1939), the Czech philologist, having been successful with the Hittite script, also tried his hand at the Indus script. He suggested that the Indus script was Indo-European and perhaps Proto-Hittite, but he could not break the code. Swami Sankaranand (1943) sought the solution in Tatric literature and this resulted in some fanciful readings which did not bear the test of scrutiny. He also stressed the Aryan origin of the Indus people. Pran Nath (1946) tried to read the Indus script as the progenitor of the Brāhmī script.

Father Heras (1953) of the Smithsonian (Heras) Institute of Bombay denied the Aryan origin of the Harappan Culture in the late forties and early fifties and based his theory on the presumption that the Harappans were Dravidians. He took the language to be proto-Dravidian which he sought to reconstruct on the basis of etymology and the study of the common roots of certain words in the Dravidian languages like the Original Indo-European (OIE).* Heras believed that each sign stood for a complete word and should not therefore be read as a syllable or a consonant of an alphabet. On the basis of this method, he claimed to have read not only a number of names but even fragments of poetry. His readings seem to be more whimsical than exact.

Ross (1953) and Diringer (1953, 1962 and 1968) continued their efforts but the voices in stones remained more or less mute (Doblhofer 1961) despite a bold claim by Sudhanshu Kumar Ray (1963, 1965 and 1966) that he was on the right track after about three decades of quest to understand the language of the lost civilization. He believed the script to be phonetic and attempted to link it graphically with the evolution of modern Indian scripts. Nothing substantial, however, came out of his much publicised claim consequently. It was B.B. Lal who demonstrated and proved very logically that the script ran from right to left and in cases of longer inscriptions it was boustrophedon (Lal 1961, 1966 a&b 1967-68, 1970). This has been confirmed by others also (Mahadevan 1977).

The seventh decade of this century is important as it saw Dr. Fateh Singh (1969) and M.V.N. Krishna Rao (1969) claiming the decipherment of the Indus script. Dr. Fateh Singh claims that there are four scripts, three proceeding from left to right and one from right to left, used in the seals. He thinks that the seals are printing blocks used in books on religion and philosophy. The Indus people, according to him, knew the entire sub-continent and even the adjoining lands. He reads in the seals, to cite only a few examples, the following names whose meanings or equivalents are given in brackets : Vrima (Burma), Andama (Andaman), Samastivarma (entire country from the Himalayas to Ceylon) etc.

Krishna Rao took the well-known Paśupati Seal as his index seal and read the five symbols on it as

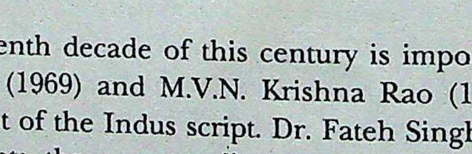
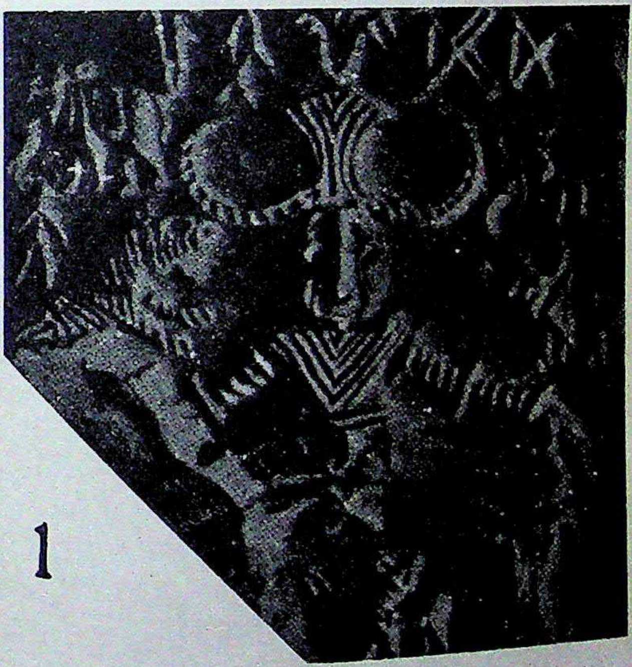


Fig-1

i.e., makhansana (from right to left) = Indra. On another seal



1

Fig. 1. Paśupati Seal

(No. LXXXVII. 222 of Mackay) which shows Paśupati-like figure in Yogic posture, he read the legend as

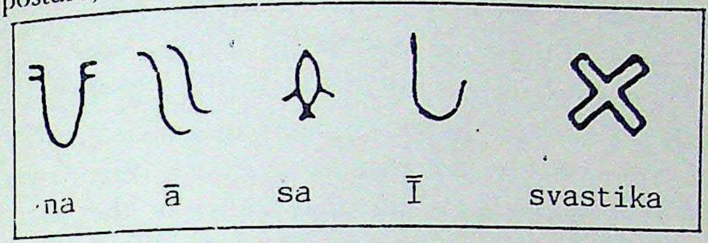


Fig-2

i.e., Isana (Īśāna) = Śiva. Similarly, Rao has read the names of Syona (Sun), ppavana (=Pavana), Ishtar etc. Mana (Narmer=Menes of the First Dynasty of Egypt, *circa* 3000 B.C.), Ur - Ea (Third Dynasty of Ur, 2113-2006 B.C.), Solomon (King of Palestine, 912 B.C.) Huban (6th century B.C.) etc. are a few amongst the names of foreign rulers, ambassadors, dynasties etc. he has read on the glyptics. Amongst weights and measures, he identifies Satamana (Śatamāna) and sees the different animals as representing different tribes like the Śakas, the Asuras etc. In his readings, he thus transgresses all limits of time and space. Inconsistencies in the claims of Fateh Singh and Krishna Rao were, however, pointed out soon (Lal 1969; Pandit 1969; Pathak 1969).

A very important development around the same time was the employment of computer techniques in the study of the Indus script by Russians (Knorozov *et al* 1969; Field and Laird 1969) and Finnish (Parpola *et al* 1969; Koskenniemi 1970; Asko Parpola 1971) scholars who have continued their investigations subsequently as well (Knorozov and Volchok 1972; Koskenniemi 1973; Penti Aalto 1975; Asko Parpola (1975, 1979, 1984; Knorozov, Volchok and Gurov 1984 etc.)

The Russian team consisting of Knorozov, Volchok, Gurov and Alekseyev attempted a computerized analysis of the grammatical and linguistic structure of the Indus script and was able to sort out with considerable precision those signs which appear to have had some grammatical or linguistic values such as declensions, genders, tenses, morphemes, etc. They examined the relationship between the Indus script which they call Proto-Indian with other associated languages such as Sumerian, Elamite, Hurrite, Indo-European, Munda and Dravidian. *The Indus language was found to be the closest to the Dravidian in grammatical structure.* The script, they held, is to be read from right to left with a few exceptions and this is generally the opinion of most of the scholars who have worked on the subject. The script consists of about 350 basic signs according to the Russian scholars. Gurov reads the language as based on Dravidian. Volchok has attempted to interpret the iconography of the signs. Some of these are said to derive from an earlier period than the Harappans, such as the female with uplifted arms (Fig. 3.a) which is described as a Mother Goddess originating in the earlier Neolithic Period, or else the man with a stick (Fig. 3.b) which is associated with *daṇḍadhara*, the god Yama of the later period. Iconographic similarity between the Indus signs and later mythology and religion are seen as the survivals of the Harappan culture in the later period.

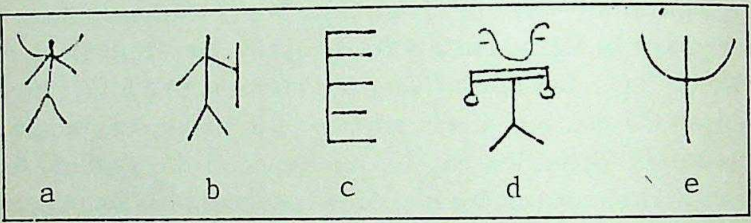


Fig-3

Like the Russian attempt, we have the analysis attempted by a team of Finnish scholars consisting of an Indologist, a specialist in linguistics and philology, an Assyriologist and an expert in mathematics and statistics—Asko Parpola, Penti Aalto, Simo Parpola and S. Koskenniemi.

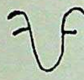
The Finnish scholars also begin with the assumption of the Dravidian basis of the Harappan culture (still, of course, to be proved). The procedure of the decipherment is a systematic process of working out with the help of a computer a sign list showing the pairwise combination of signs, and lists of all occurrences of certain signs.

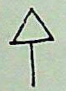
The script is deciphered and described as *logographic*, i.e. each sign represents a complete word. These are not syllables as the word may comprise one or more syllables. What is equally important in this decipherment is that the words have been read on the principle of *homophony* i.e., a given word is expressed by a clearly recognisable picture of a quite different object but the word for which has the same phonetic or sound value as the word intended: "The word for the picture and the word for the meaning must be genuine words of the same language and must occur in all the known forms of that language so that the proto-forms can be reconstructed".

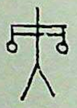
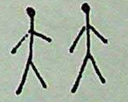
Assuming that the Harappan culture had a Dravidian basis, the language of the Indus script is taken to be Proto-Dravidian. The sign with multiple horizontal arms attached to a vertical line (Fig. 3.c) resembles a comb with which the Harappans were well-acquainted. A word for comb in the Dravidian language group is *pentikā.* A similar word *penti* means a woman, a female. Therefore, the sign is to be understood to mean a woman or a female. Hence it is used as representing the feminine gender on the basis of its function vis-a-vis other signs.

According to the Finns, there are about *300 basic signs*, the rest being conjuncts or ligatures (combinations of two or more basic signs), diacritics (marks modifying basic signs) or definitives (confining the meaning of a word). Since the script was logographic and based on homophony, there was comparatively little change during the period of its use although the Finns claim that the change can be traced. Apart from a few exceptions, the writing, they believe, is from right to left.

Certain signs which occur at the end of the inscriptions in most cases are taken as inflectional endings. When they occur elsewhere, they are taken in association with the preceding word. Thus the basic grammatical structure has been worked out as following :

 for genetive

 for dative

 for plural (also duplification, e.g. )

The reconstruction of the structure of the language by the Finns is clear and logical. To this extent, the analysis is impressive and prima facie the Finns seem nearer success than any previous effort. There are, however, two problems which can only be settled by a reading of the texts since they are both concerned with ascribing the correct meaning to each sign. First of all, are the grammatical values read into particular signs correct ? The symbol for genetive plural for the Finns (Fig. 3.d) is a measure weight for the Russians. The one representing a hand for the former (Fig. 3. e) is a unit of measurement for the latter. Secondly, the problem is that of selecting the correct meaning from a variety of root words. For example, there are about half a dozen different words in the Dravidian language group for 'bull', each of which has atleast one other meaning which differs from the others. presumably, one would have to try each in turn to see which one fits, and this would introduce possibilities of some differences in the readings of the texts.

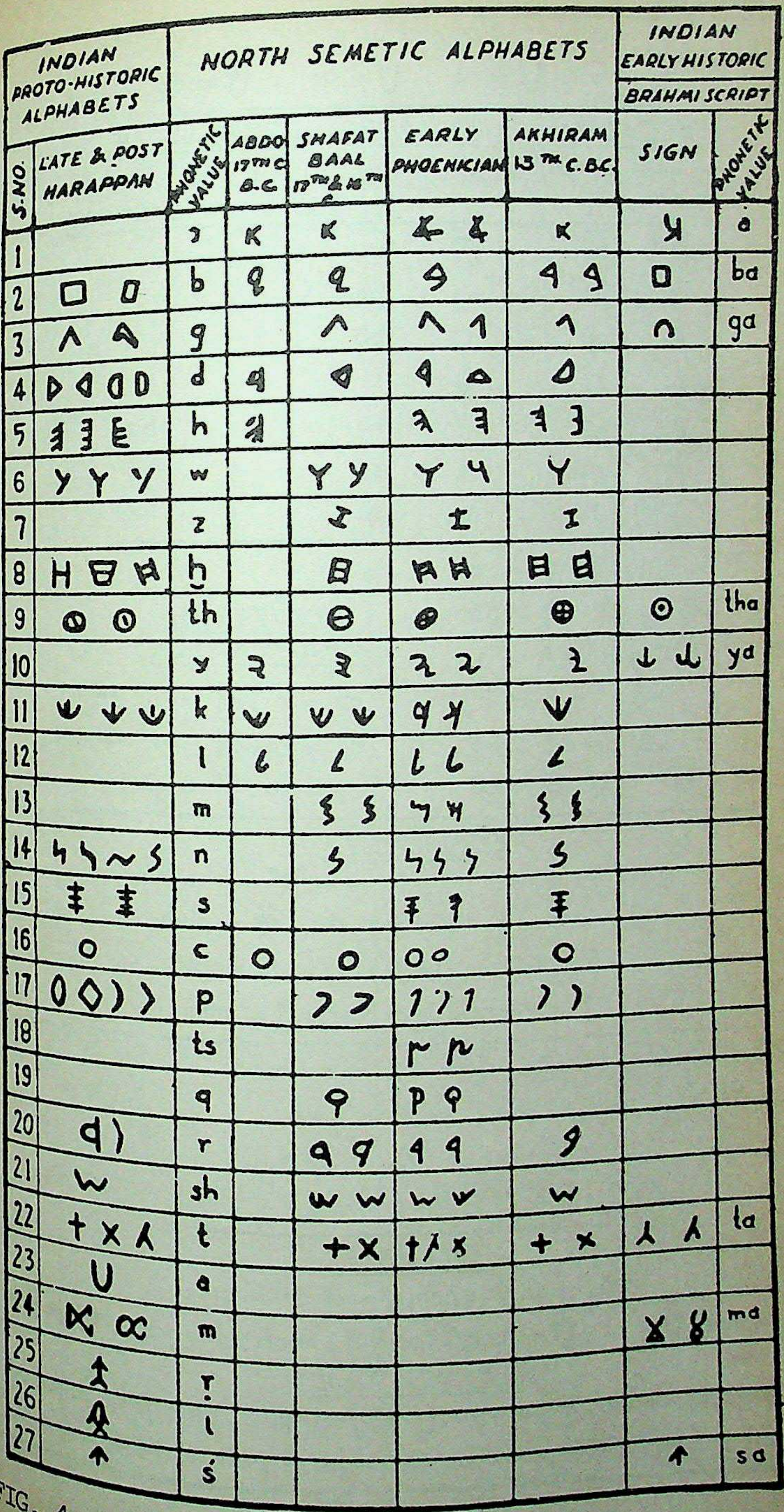
The eighth decade saw some Indian scholars also taking to computer methodology (Mahadevan and Visvanathan 1973) as a result of which Mahadevan (1977) later prepared a concordance of the Indus texts and signs. He has analysed 2469 inscriptions :

1600	Stamp seals	64.80%
257	'Tiny' seals	10.41%
372	Sealings	15.07%
82	Graffiti on pottery	3.32%
113	Copper tablets	4.58%
8	Inscriptions on bronze weapons	0.32%
20	Inscribed dice	0.81%
7	Miscellaneous objects	0.28%
10	Unknown type	0.41%

Mahadevan recognised about 400 signs in coding the text. Readings have, however, been offered assigning several word values to signs and transgressing temporal limitations.

In the beginning of the next decade, S.R. Rao (1971) also announced the decipherment of the Indus script. Bankebehari Chakravarty (1975 and 1976) too claimed success to break the code assigning different phonetic values to the Indus characters. Stray studies on the different aspects of the Indus seals and their script continued to be made by Krishna Rao (1973), Pande (1973, 1974, 1975-76), Thaplyal (1973), Zide (1973), Wilson (1974), Lal (1974 and 1975), Burnswig Jr. (1974), Penti Aalto (1975), Asko Paprola (1975), S.R. Rao (1973) etc. The bibliographies prepared by Heras (1953), Pande and Ramchandran (1971) and Burnswig (1974) deal with all earlier attempts pertaining to the decipherment of the Harappan script, various kinds of analyses regarding the relative frequency and juxtaposition of signs, formation of blocks and contextual occurrences. Asko Parpola (1975-76) has critically surveyed the utility of the bibliographical aids for the study of the Indus civilization.

As a natural consequence of the preceding endevours, useful studies on the decipherment of the Indus script have been carried out during the last one decade beginning with 1978. That year Dr. Rao (1978) refreshed his claim and explained his methodology in the subsequent year (Rao 1979). In 1981 his book on *The Decipherment on the Indus Script* was published from Bombay (Rao 1981 a) and he also delivered his Presidential Address in the



S.NO.	INDIAN PROTO-HISTORIC ALPHABETS: LATE & POST HARAPPAN	NORTH SEMETIC ALPHABETS: PHONETIC VALUE	ABDO 17TH C B.C	SHAFAT BAAL 17TH & 16TH C	EARLY PHOENICIAN	AKHIRAM 13TH C.B.C.	INDIAN EARLY HISTORIC BRAHMI SCRIPT: SIGN	PHONETIC VALUE
1		ɔ						a
2		b						ba
3		g						ga
4		d						
5		h						
6		w						
7		z						
8		ḥ						
9		th						tha
10		y						ya
11		k						
12		l						
13		m						
14		n						
15		s						
16		c						
17		p						
18		ts						
19		q						
20		r						
21		sh						
22		t						ta
23		a						
24		m						ma
25		ṛ						
26		l						
27		ś						sa

FIG. 4. Late Harappan and North Semitic alphabets

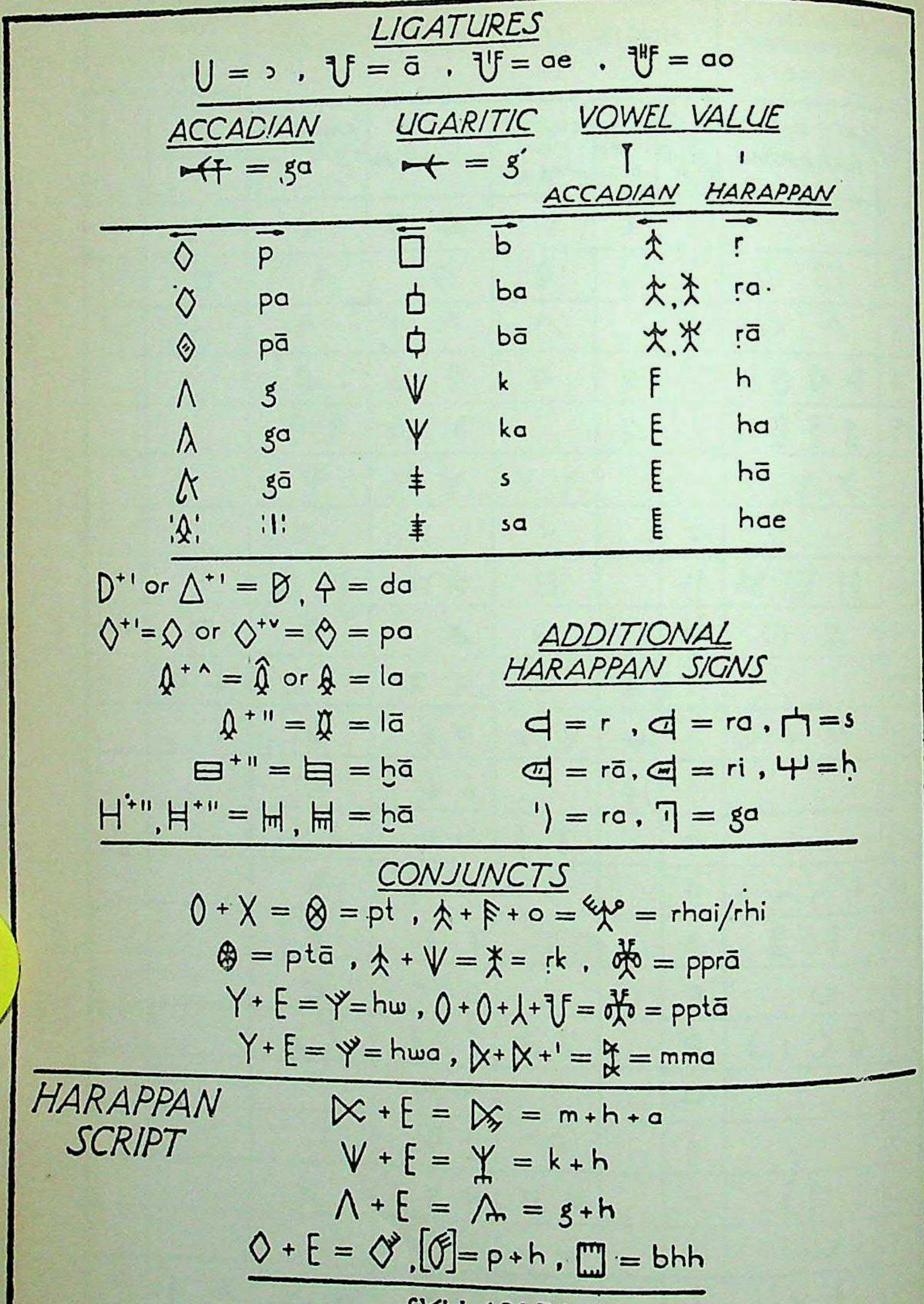

LIGATURES
= ɔ , = ā , = ae , = ao
ACCADIAN
= ga
UGARITIC
= ǵ
VOWEL VALUE
ACCADIAN
HARAPPAN
p
pa
pā
g
ga
gā
b
ba
bā
k
ka
s
sa
r
ra
rā
h
ha
hā
hae
= da
= pa
= la
= lā
= ḫā
= ḫā
ADDITIONAL HARAPPAN SIGNS
= r , = ra , = s
= rā , = ri , = ḥ
= ra , = ga
CONJUNCTS
= pt , = rhai/rhi
= ptā , = ṛk , = pprā
= hw , = pptā
= hwa , = mma
HARAPPAN SCRIPT
= m + h + a
= k + h
= g + h
= p + h , = bhh
SYLLABLES
= ah, = pah, = pak, = ar
= hhak, = ak, = kak/kka, = hhah, = ḫaḫ, = vau
WORD NUMERALS
= ekaka, = dvika, = tṛika, = tṛ-pp-ā, = pa-sapta-ā
= çatuṣka, = ṗançaka, = pa"– pança, = astaka

FIG. 5. Conjuncts and ligatures in Harappan Script

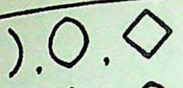
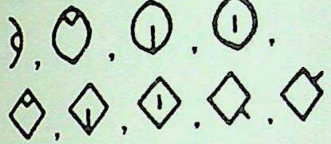
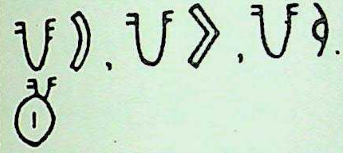
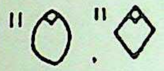
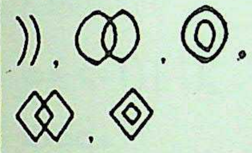
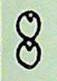
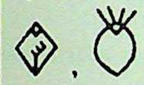
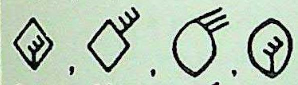
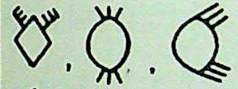
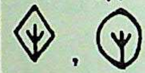
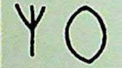
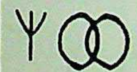
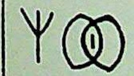
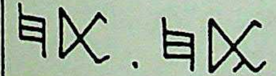
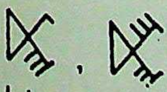
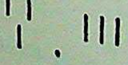
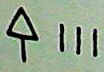
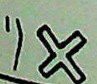
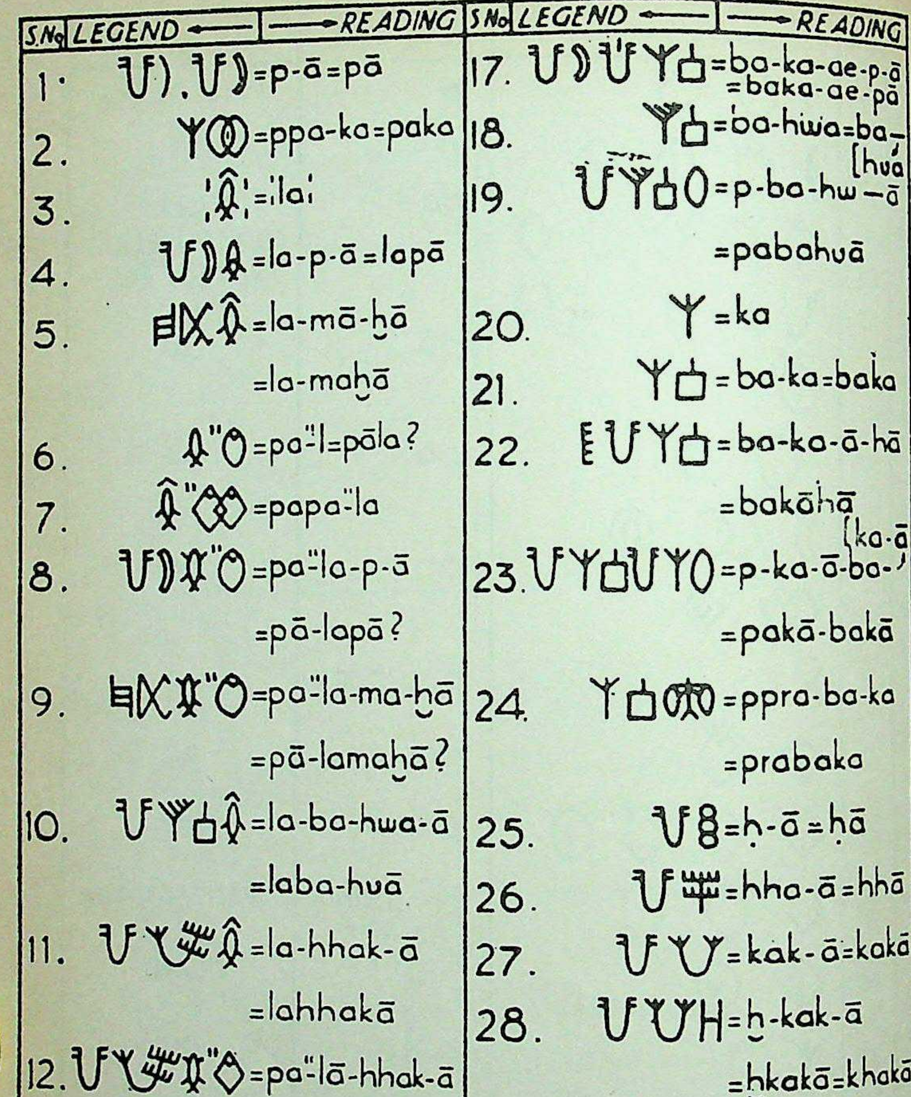
S.No.	INDUS SIGN	READING	MEANING
1		P	RULE(RULER)
2		pa	RULER (DEFEND, RULE PROTECT ETC.)
3		pā	DO
4		pa"	DO
5		pp	DO
6		ppa(papa)	DO
7		pah	DO
8		ph(pah)	DO
9		phh(pahh)	PROTECT(RULER)
10		pak	GUARD
11		p-ka	DO
12		pp-ka	DO
13		ppa-ka	DO
14		maẖā, māhā	
15		mha(mah). mhh(mahh)	CHIEF
16		tṛ (tra)	SAVE. SAVIOUR
17		tṛda(trada)	DO
18		tra	DO

FIG. 6. Compounded signs on Indus Seals



S.No	LEGEND ⟵	⟶ READING
1.		=p-ā=pā
2.		=ppa-ka=paka
3.		=ˈlaˈ
4.		=la-p-ā=lapā
5.		=la-mā-ḫā =la-maḫā
6.		=pa¨-l=pāla?
7.		=papa¨la
8.		=pa¨-la-p-ā =pā-lapā?
9.		=pa¨-la-ma-ḫā =pā-lamaḫā?
10.		=la-ba-hwa-ā =laba-huā
11.		=la-hhak-ā =lahhakā
12.		=pa¨-lā-hhak-ā =pā-lehhaka-
13.		=pa-la-ba-hw-,[ā-hae =palabahuā-[hā
14.		=tṛ-l-ba-hwa =tra labahua [-ā
15.		=pa¨-tṛ-l-ba-hw [huā =pā-tra laba-
16.		=ˈbaˈ
17.		=ba-ka-ae-p-ā =baka-ae-pā
18.		=ba-hwa=ba-[hua
19.		=p-ba-hw-ā =pabahuā
20.		=ka
21.		=ba-ka=baka
22.		=ba-ka-ā-hā =bakāhā
23.		[ka-ā =p-ka-ā-ba- =pakā-bakā
24.		=ppra-ba-ka =prabaka
25.		=ḥ-ā=ḥā
26.		=hha-ā=hhā
27.		=kak-ā=kakā
28.		=ḫ-kak-ā =ḫkakā=khakā
29.		=ga-ā=gā
30.		=g'-p=g apa?
31.		=pta¨-p-ga-ah-ā =ptā-pagāhā
32.		=la-phaga(pagha)
33.		=ā [-ā=
34.		=ā-p=āp
35.		=ā-t-hwa =āt(a)hua

FIG. 7. Legends on Indus seals and their readings

Annual Conference of the Epigraphical Society of India (Rao 1981 b). According to Rao 250 signs in 2500 inscriptions is a number too large for an alphabetic system and too small for pictographic or logographic writing. Rao thinks that there were 22 basic signs in the Late Harappan script and 40 linear and 22 basic signs in the Harappan writing. Eighteen of the 40 linear signs are homomorphs, i.e., alternate signs. So with as few as 62 basic signs the Indus script cannot be regarded as pictographic or ideographic, it could not be anything other than phonetic, i.e., syllabic or alphabetic, with occasional use of pictures and numerals. The pictorials themselves must have been logographic or hieroglyphic in the beginning and gradually acquired a syllabic or even alphabetic status, e.g., the 'bird' signs. Some complicated forms such as 'mountain' and 'fence' were dropped on the principle of economy. Another measure of economy consists in omitting pictorials and reducing the number of alternative signs for the same sound. Stratigraphic evidence regarding the evolution of the Indus script chronologically is available from the excavations at Lothal and Rangpur. Interestingly the Late Harappan inscriptions have in all 44 signs evolved from 20 basic signs, the remaining being conjuncts or ligatures. The statistical analysis shows that there were regional variations in pronouncing and spelling certain words. On comparison, Rao found more than 70% of the Indus linear signs to be identical with those in the Semitic; so, similar phonetic values were assigned by him to those signs (Fig. 4). His study revealed that--

(a) The Harappan script has voiceless as well as aspirate *h* suggesting that the Harappan script is earlier than the Vedic language which had dropped the voiceless *h* and *ḥ (kh)*.

(b) There are no separate signs for aspirates except *th*. The aspirate sound-values were, however, derived by adding the sign for *h* to *k, g, t, d, p, b* etc.

(c) The first two nasals (i.e., gutteral and palatal) are absent in the Harappan script.

(d) *G, th, d,* and *b* which do ~~not~~ occur in Tamil are present in the Harappan script.

(e) He also observed that the early Harappan phonology has a few features similar to those of the Hittite language.

Rao, thus did not find any signs for palatals and cerebrals but noted five signs each for the three laryngeals and three sibilants. The Indus script thus has, according to him, three laryngeals like the Avestan and Hittite languages whereas the old Indo-Aryan had dropped two and retained only one. He, therefore, treats the Indus language as Pre-Old-Indo-Aryan.

The system of conjuncts, i.e. combining more than one consonant with a vowel into a single compound sign is a peculiarity of Indian languages and may also be seen in the Harappan language (Fig. 5 & 6).

Thus, having assigned phonetic values as indicated above and having explained the formation of the conjuncts, Rao reads the legends on the Indus seals. His method of reading may well be understood from Fig. 7. He has deciphered on the seals epithets like *pa. pta. oma, tra* etc. which mean to defend, rule, protect, save, etc. and names like La (=La, Chief), Tra—laba-hva, i.e., 6 'Saviour (King) called Laba', Ba (= Varuṇa), Ka (= Prajāpati), Baka 'an asura', Ha (=Śiva), Sasa, 'an author of a Ṛigvedic hymn' etc. Repetition of epithets like *pa-pa* meant 'Ruler of Rulers', as in the Hittite. Thus Rao found affinity between the Harappan and the Hittite languages both in semantics and syntax of epithets. He concludes that "The early syllabic-cum-alphabetic writing of the Indus people was disciplined into an alphabetic system by 1500 B.C. They spoke an Indo-European language which shows close affinity to Indo-Aryan in vocabulary, semantics and phonology. The occurrence of the names of rulers and chiefs (*Baka, Taraka, Ashtaka, Pancaka, Laba, Gara, Atri, Trika, Lala, Mana* and *Dasa* whom the Vedas consider as gods, *asuras* or *ṛishis*) and of countries (*Malalha = Meluhha, Sapta-apa = Saptasindhu* (?) and *Odra*), sacrifices (*ekaha, Pancaha, saptaha*) and divinities (*Ka*, La, Ha, *Ta*, etc.) suggests that the Harappans not only spoke a language very much akin to the Vedic, but also observed some of the religious and social customs later attributed to the Aryans" (Rao 1973). Rao, therefore, treats the Indus language as Pre-Old-Indo-Aryan (Rao 1981).

M.N. Gupta (1980-81) also regards the authors of the Indus seals to be Sanskrit speaking Aryans. Punekar (1984) and Ramesh (1983 and 1984), too, have tried to explain the signs and motifs of the seals with the help of Vedic texts. M.J. Sharma (1980) suggests that if the letters are assigned the phonetic values of a certain language, they should better be read in that language than in any other.

Mahadevan (1979-80) published an 'Indus Sealing From Hulas' and also revised his earlier model treating the Indus writing as ideographic (Mahadevan 1980). Asko Parpola (1979) wrote about

'The Problem of the Indus Script' and interpreted it by making use of computer analysis for counting the signs and their variables (Parpola 1981). Siromoney and Huq (1982) demonstrated a new method of segmentation of the longer texts of the Indus script using an optimization technique, taking help of the small electronic calculators. In the following year, they (Huq and Siromoney 1983) presented 'A Statistical Analysis of Pairs of Indus Signs with Jar or Lance'.

A Seminar on the Indus Script was held in the Tamil University, Thanjavur in September, 1983 where some interesting and useful papers were presented (Raman 1983; Ramesh 1983).

We have already referred to the views of Heras (1953) who regarded the language of the Harappans to be Proto-Dravidian. The Finnish scholars have also concentrated on the interpretation assuming the language to be Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian and given a word-value to most of the signs from which they derive syllabic values. Fairservis (1977) is another protagonist of the Dravidian authorship of the Indus civilisation and finds ideographs in the Indus script for which he can use Dravidian words. Mahadevan (1973), too, regards the language to be Dravidian and takes most of the signs as pictures giving them ideographic, and occasionally, a syllabic value. The Soviet scholars (Knorozov 1972) have criticised Parpola's interpretation of the so-called 'comb' sign as a gender-indicator and the 'jar' or 'boat' sign as a case-indicator as running counter to the rules of grammer in ancient Dravidian *(Tolkappiyam)*, but they themselves have assumed that certain signs used only at the end of words served as inflexional suffixes and that the language is Dravidian, ignoring the fact that Indo-Aryana also has suffixes. In a recent study Knorozov, Volchok and Gurov (1984) have analysed 'Some Groups of Proto-religious Inscriptions of the Harappans' and hold that some signs represent the six seasons and various other calendrical symbols, representations of gods etc. Asko Parpola (1984) and S.R. Rao (1984) have restated and reaffirmed their earlier stands and interpretations recently. Kennier Wilson (1984) finds numerical symbols in the Indus script comparable to theearly Sumerian, Mycenaean and even proto-Elamites, the people with whom the Indus People traded. He does not believe in the theory of Sumerian settlers in India but subscribes to the view on the language hypothesis that the Harappan peoples were the Indo-Sumerians. Noboru Karashima's *Indus Valley to Mecong Delta* (1985) contains six papers on the Indus script. A Hindi book published in the same year also contains an essay on the 'Indus Civilization, its Script and Language (R.N. Roy 1985).

S.R. Rao has brought to light a late Harappan (C. 14th century B.C.) inscribed votive jar from the sea bed near Bet Dwaraka and read the legend as *mahāhagaca (mahākaca) sah-pa* conveying the sense "Lord of the Sea Protect!" The language, according to him being a mixture of archaic Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan) and Old Iranian, (S.R. Rao 1986 & 1989). Pathak recognises three letters of this inscription as identical with those of the Aśokan Brāhmī, two with the Semitic-Aramaic alphabet, one similar to the Harappan ideograpn and the Aśokan Brāhmi and the remaining, a conjunct, as of pre-Aśokan Brāhmī-Kharoshṭhī form. He reads the legend as *mahah pra* y(a) *ja sa.* (Pathak 1986). Whatsoever be the true reading, the inscription is a landmark in the history of the evolution of the alphabetic writing in India.

Saran (1987) has published a newly acquired Indus seal from Kalibangan with a bull and bearing six vertical strokes, the fish-like symbol and the triangle-headed standard. Important, however, is 'a model for the decipherment of the script' presented recently by Fairservis. He has observed that the Harappan script consists of about 419 signs of which 113 occur but once, 47 twice and 59 five or fewer times; 200 signs thus being in general use. About 35 of the signs are akin to proto-Elamite and the technique of affixing is also similar to both the scripts. Graphemes are generally variations and sign variation includes the technique of numeration also. The Harappan script, according to him, may be related to some form of Dravidian. It was the invention of local genius 'arising out of the need for a complex system of graphemes suitable both for notational as in the case of the miniature seals from Harappa, and more importantly for the express need of personal and social identification among an elite'.

We thus see that studies in the Indus script have continued almost incessantly from 1925 onwards. They are both of general and specific nature. Great difficulties were experienced in the early stage and guesses of various sorts were made. The introduction of mathematical and statistical analyses and computers added a new dimension to the study and structural analyses were carried out by Finnish, Soviet and Indian scholars. Most of these have found the language of the Harappans to be akin to the Dravidian but S.R. Rao argues for its being Old Indo-Aryan. The very fact that various scholars interpret different signs differently goes against the exact solution of the riddle. It has rightly been observed by Parpola (1984) that "Before an interpretation of the Indus script can be accepted as valid it must flawlessly fulfil a number of requirements.

This is true both of the individual interpretation and the theory as a whole. Atleast the following principles seem essential. The interpretation must fit in with all available evidence and give it a meaningful explanation. It must be in agreement with the body of accepted knowledge, especially the history of writing, linguistics, history, archaeology, and anthropology. It must be systematic and consistent, and testable using objective and, as far as possible, independent means". Let us hope that the efforts of various scholars working in the field will result in such an interpretation soon.

Acknowledgements

Figures 4-7 are after Dr. S.R. Rao (RIA) to whom we express our thanks. We are also thankful to our colleague Shri Lalman for his help in compiling and arranging the Bibliography. Km. Versha also owes our thanks for this paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agrawal, D.P. and Ghosh, A (Eds.) 1973. *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology* Bombay *(RIA)*

Brunswig, Robert H. Jr 1974. A Comparative Bibliography of the Indus Civilization and Related Subject Areas, Asian Perspectives, Vol. XI (1), 1973 (Published in 1974), pp. 75-111.

Chakravorty, B, 1975. *Decipherment of Indus Script—A new light*, Calcutta.

Chakravorty, B. 1976. *The Message of Indus Script*, Calcutta.

Cunningham, A., 1875. *Archaeological Survey of India—Report for the year 1872-73, Vol.* V, pp. 105-108, Pl. XXXIII.

Diringer, David. 1953. *The Alphabet*, London.

Diringer, David 1962. *Writing*, London.

Diringer, David. 1968. *The Alphabet*, Vol. I (3rd ed), London.

Doblhofer, E. 1961. *Voices in Stones : The Decipherment of Ancient Scripts and Writings* (transp.ed.), New York.

Fairservis, W.A. Jr. 1977. Excavations at Allah Dino, III (Cyclostyled as quoted by S.R. Rao).

Fairservis, W.A. Jr. 1987. The Harappan Civilization According to its writing, *Archaeology and History (Essays in Memory of Sh. A. Ghosh)* eds. B.M. Pande and B.D. Chattopadhaya, Delhi, 1987, pp. 187-211.

Fateh Singh 1969. *Svāhā*, Jodhpur.

Field, H. and Lavid, E.M. (Eds.) 1969. *Soviet Studies on Harappan Script*, Florida.

Gadd, C.J. 1932. Seals of Ancient Indian Style Found at Ur, *Proc. British Academy*, 18, pp. 191-210.

Gadd, C.J. & Smith, V.A. 1931. *In Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilization*, Vol III.

Gupta, M.N. 1980-81. The Authors of the Indus Seals : Texts or the Indus Seal Motifs, JESI, Vol. 12, pp. 47-53.

Heras, H. 1953. *Studies in Proto-Indian Mediterranean Culture*, Vol. 1, Bombay.

Hrozny, B. 1939. *O Nejistarišín stěhovaní Narodú A O Problému Civilisace Proto-Indické*. Praha.

Hunter, G.R. 1934. *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro and its connections with other scripts*, London, pp. 26-28, pls. III-IV.

Huq, A. and Siromoney, Gift 1982. Segmentations of Unusually Long Texts of Indus Writing : *JESI*, IX, pp. 82-85.

Karashima, N. (Ed.) 1985. *Indus Valley to Mecong Delta* : New Era Pub., Madras, pp. 335ff.

Knorozov, Yu.V., Volchok, B. Ya. 1968. *Brief Report on the Investigation of the Proto-Indian Texts*, Moscow.

Koskanniemi, S., Parpola, A. and S. 1973. *A Concordance to the Indus Inscriptions*, Helsinki, 1973.

Knorozov, Yu. V., Volchok, B. Ya *et al.*, 1972. *Proto-Indica*, Moscow.

Knorozov, Tu. V., Volchok, B. Ya *et al.*, 1984. Some groups of Proto-religious Inscriptions of the Harappans, *Frontiers of Indus Civilization* (Eds. B.B. Lal & S.P. Gupta), *Delhi* (FIC).

Koskanniemi, S. *et al.*, 1970. A Method to classify characters of Unknown ancient scripts, *Linguistics*, 61, 65-91.

Krishna Rao, M.N.V. 1969. Krishna Rao's Solution, *The Hindustan Times, Weekly Review*, March 30.

Krishna Rao, M.N.V. 1973. Foreign Rulers in the Indus Seals, *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*. (Eds. D.P. Agrawal & A. Ghosh), Bombay, pp. 279-90.

Lal, B.B. 1961. Expeditions and Excavations since Independence, *Cultural Forum*, Vol. IV, No. II, pp. 20-43.

Lal, B.B. 1966a. The Direction of writing of the Harappan Script, Antiquity, 40, pp. 52-55.

Lal, B.B. 1966b. The Directions of writing in the Harappan Script, *Proc. Int. Conf. on Asian Archaeology, Summaries*, pp. 37-38.

Lal, B.B. 1967-68. A Further Note on the direction of writing in the Harappan Script, *Puratattva*, 1, pp. 15-16.

Lal, B.B. 1969. Indus Script : Inconsistencies in claims and Decipherment, *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, New Delhi, April 6, p. 14.

Lal, B.B. 1970. *Indias Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Delhi.

Lal, B.B. 1974. Some Aspects of the Archaeological Evidences Relating to the Indian Script, *Puratattva*, 7, pp. 20-24.

Lal, B.B. 1975. The Indus Script : Some observations based on Archaeology, *JRAS*, pp. 173-77.

Langdon, S. 1931. The Indus Script in : *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, London.

Mahadevan, I. 1977. *Indus Script, Texts, Concordance and Tables,* New Delhi.

Mahadevan, I. 1979-80. Indus Sealing From Hulas, *Puratattva* 11, p. 117, pl. 1.

Mahadevan, I. 1980. Dravidian Models of the Decipherment of the Indus Script (cyclostyled).

Mahadevan, I. 1981-83. Object on Unicorn Seals : A Sacred Filter, *Puratattva*, . 13-14, pp. 165-186.

Mahadevan, I. & Visvanathan, K. 1973. Computer Concordance of Proto-Indian Signs, *RIA*, 291-304.

Marshall, J. 1914-15. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,* pp. 25ff.

Marshall, J. 1915. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain,* p.340.

Marshall, J. 1931. *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization,* 3 Vols., London.

Meriggi, P. 1934. Zur Indus Script, *ZDMG*, Vol. 87.

Michiner, J.E. 1973. *Studies in the Indus Valley Inscriptions,* New Delhi.

Pande, B.M. 1973. Inscribed Copper Tablets from Mohenjo-daro : A Preliminary Analysis, *RIA*, 305-322.

Pande, B.M. 1974. On the origin of the Harappan Sign, *Puratattva* 7, 25-33.

Pande, B.M. 1975-76. Inscribed Harappan Material from Kalibangan : Some Remarks on Methodology and Approach, *Puratattva* 8, pp. 156-157.

Pande, B.M. and Chattopadhyay, B.D. (Eds.) 1987. *Archaeology and History* (Essays in Memory of Sh. A. Ghosh) 2 Vols., Delhi.

Pande, B.M. and Ramachandran, K.S. 1971. *Bibliography of the Harappan culture.* Miami.

Pandit, P.B. 1969. Cracking the Code, *Hindustan Times Weekly,* March 30.

Parpola, A. 1971. *Computer Techniques in the Study of the Indus Script,* Kadmos, 10 (1), 10-15.

Parpola, A. 1973. A Comparative Bibliography of the Indus Civilization and Related Subjects and Areas, *Asian Perspectives* XVI (1), pp. 75-111.

Parpola, A. 1975. Suggested Semantic and Phonetic Values of selected Indus pictograms, *Puratattva*, II, p. 31.

Parpola, A. 1975-76. Bibliographical Aids for the study of the Indus Civilization. A Critical Survey, *Puratattva*, 8, pp. 150-156.

Parpola, A. 1979. The Problem of the Indus Script, *Essays in Indian Protohistory* (Eds. D.P. Agrawal & Dalip K. Chakraborty), New Delhi.

Parpola, A. 1981. Interpreting the Indus Script, *Indus Civilization : New Perspectives.*

Parpola, A. 1984. Interpreting the Indus Script, *FIC*, 179-191.

Parpola, A. Koskenniemi, S. Parpola, S. and A. 1969. *Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian* Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization copenhagen.

Pathak, R.D. 1969. Fateh Singh's Findings, *HTW*, March.

Pathak, V.S. 1986. Presidential Address. *JESI*,XIII(1986), pp. 5-6.

Penti Aalto, 1975. Indus Script and Dravidian, *JESI*, II, pp. 16 ff.

Pran Nath, 1946. *Decipherment of the Inscriptions of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro*, Banaras.

Punekar, S.M. 1984. Mohenjo-daro Seals, Delhi.

Raman, B.S. 1983. A New Direction of approach for the decipherment of the Indus Script, *Seminar on the Indus Script*, Tamil University, Thanjavur.

Ramesh, K.V. 1983. . Some observations of an epigraphist on the Indus Script, *Seminar on the Indus Script*, Tamil University, Madras, Sept. 1983.

Ramesh, K.V. 1984. *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, Delhi.

Rao, S.R. 1971. Indus Script Deciphered, *Illustrated Weekly* (Bombay), 92, 50, Dec. 12, 1971, pp. 21-25.

Rao, S.R. 1973. The Indus Script—Methodology and Language, *RIA*, pp. 323-40.

Rao, S.R. 1978. Indus Script Deciphered, *Manthan*, New Delhi.

Rao, S.R. 1979. Indus Script Deciphering, *Indian and Foreign Review*, New Delhi.

Roy, Ranga Nath 1985. In Bhāratīyā Kalā Driṣṭi (Hindi) edited by Sachchidananda Vatsyayana, Delhi.

Ray, S.K. 1963. *Indus Script*, New Delhi.

Ray, S.K. 1965. *Indus Script* (Memorandum No. 2), New Delhi.

Ray, S.K. 1966. *Indus Script : Methods of My Study*, New Delhi.

Ross, A.S. 1933. The Numeral Signs of the Mohenja-daro Script, *MASI*, 57.

Sankarananda, Swami 1943. *The Rigvedic Culture of the Pre-historic Indus*, Calcutta.

Saran, S.C. 1987. On Newly Acquired Indus Seal from Kalibangan, Vajapeya : *Essays on Evolution of Indian Art & Culture (Prof. K.D. Bajpai Felicitation Volume)*, Delhi, pp. 45-46.

Sharma, M.J. 1980. A Short Note on Harappan Script, *JESI*, VII, pp. 128-32.

Thaplyal, K.K. 1973. Probable Nature of Harappan Seal-Inscriptions, *RIA*, pp. 341-346.

Vats, M.S. 1932. *Excavations at Harappa*, 2 Vols, New Delhi.

Waddel, L.A. 1925. *The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, London.

Wilson, J.V. Kinnier, 1974. *Indo-Sumerian : A New Approach to the Problems of the Indus Script*, Oxford.

Zide, R.K. 1973. How to Decipher a Script (and how not to), *RIA*, pp. 347-358.

TERRACOTTAS KUSHĀṆA ART IN HARYANA

Mohinder Singh

Terracottas occupy an important place in the history of plastic art of ancient India. According to Dhavalikar[1], the ancient potter artist had to cater to one and all, the prince and the pauper, the merchant and the priest and to men and women, from every strata of society. It is one of the easy availability, ductility and plasticity of clay which made it an important medium of art expression. the artist may present the story of the people, their life, thought and culture, costumes of the society and the economic condition from age to age through the terracottas. The history of terracotta art in Haryana begins from the chalcolithic period. The excavations and explorations conducted at Mitathal[2], Banawali[3], Daulatpur[4], Raja Karan Ka Qila[5], Agroha[6], Sugh[7], Bhagwanpura[8], Autha[9] Naurangabad[10], Pehowa[11], Pujam[12], Thanesar[13] and Rakhigarhi[14] have yielded many art relics which throw welcome light on the art tradition of the people of this region.

The Kushāṇa period in Indian Art developed during the reign of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Vāsishka and Huvishka. All these rulers conquered the Indo-Parthians of Bactria and established their rule over the Indo-Gangetic plain of India. They were nomadic in origin and belong to the Yue-Chi tribe of central Asia.

During the Kushāṇa period the terracotta art was very popular. The hand-modelled terracotta became predominent although the earlier tradition of mould made terracotta continued.[15] Mostly the terracotas of this period are crudely modelled. In this period the terracotta art was represented by various ethnic types and fashions—a clear reflection of the racial influx characteristic of this period.[16] These terracottas are shown with numerous motifs, homely scenes and popular legends. The terracotta art of this period is comparable with the sculptural art in depiction of worldly life with its joys and sorrows on the physical form. Theterracotta figurines depict a varied secular life with various modes of expressions, facial forms, dresses, headgears, ornaments and emotions of the ethnic as well as alien people of this period. The ornamentation is comparatively scanty and the hair-do is elaborate as in the Kushāṇa tradition. The figures are shown with ovoid face, broad nose, short forehead, prominent chin and wearing various types of headgears like the Kullah-cap.

The terracotta figurines are divisible into religious and secular types. Mother goddesses are important among the religious figurines. The most noteworthy[17] figure of this deity is found from Kansala village (District Rohtak). The figure is shown seated majestically on some object with legs hanging down. She wears head-dress, necklace, deep navel mark and does not possess prominent breasts. Her nudity is also quite clear. From art point of view this does not belong to either Gandhāra school or the Mathura, but it is purely Indian in character. A female figure found from Sugh[18] is very interesting in representing the standing mother with a child represented by just clod of clay. Another two Mātṛikās[19] found from Sugh are shown standing side by side holding a child in their lap. A headless moulded female figure found from Raja-Karan Ka Qila[20] bears *hāra* on the chest, wristlets and armlets. She is shown with a sturdy body, short protuberant breasts and a thick *dhotī* passing over the left shoulder. Her left hand is akimbo, while the right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudrā*. The deity is shown in frontal pose with a flat surface on the back drop. It has close resemblance with the Kushāṇa sculptural art. The Vasudharā[21] figure from Sugh is also very interesting.

Side by side with the prevalence of these female religious figurines we find the representation of *trinetra* Śiva[22] and Vishṇu[23]. A number of various figures has been recovered from this region.

A beautiful double moulded Vāmanaka[24] terracotta figure from Ahranava in Gurgaon District is seated in *Utkuṭikāsana* with two hands placed on thighs. It has punched eyes, broad nose and oval face. In another case of a Yaksha Vāmanaka[25] from the same site his two hands are akimbo probably holding the drapery. A male figure of Vāmanaka[26] from Naurangabad is the evidence of crude modelling.

A good number of interesting pottery handles depicting male and female figures have been reported from Naurangabad[27] and Khokhrakot[28]. Most of these figures are shown in the pose of adoration. Some of these wear transparent *saris* as nether garment. A female figure[29] is bearing heavy beaded bangles in her four arms. The nudity is visible inspite of the nether garment. It is comparable with the yakshīs on Mathura railings.

There are also a group of figured handles of Śālabhañjikās[30] from Naurangabad. On the sides are incised lines in the form of a border flanking the female figure. These figures are in indigenous style and totally discard the foreign themes. Such type of figures have been reported from Sambhar and Nagar[31] in Rajasthan.

The votive tanks or *archā-sarovara* are found from Raja Karan Ka Qila[32], Naurangabad[33] and Safidon[34]. A votive tank is shown with a miniature lamp as its raised wall and a small human figure is shown on the ground with pinched nose and out-streched arms in the act of a drum beater. According to V. S. Agarwal,[35] this type of worship was introduced by Parthian influence in India and was connected with the cult. Mrs. Van Ingen[36] mentions that this drummer type was specially popular at Seleucia during the period of the Parthians. But Marshall[37] believes that this type of worship was purely Indian in tradition.

A turbaned moulded male head found from Sirsa[38] appears to have been a fragment of a *dampati* plaque. It is comparable with *dampati* figurines from Ahichchhatra[39]. Another figure[40] from the same place, now headless, depicts a pot-bellied male wearing a *Yajñopavīta* and the left shoulder is covered by a shawl. It appears to have been the representation of some Yaksha, the spirit of tree and water. Besides it a male figure standing in *Samabhaṅga* pose is shown with a *dhotī* as the lower garment. The delineation is proportionate. The figure is similar to the Bodhisattva[41] terracotta discovered at Hastinapura.[42] In another case the head of a figure from Sugh is shown with a high cylindrical crown bearing four tiers of discs and thick double ear-rings. The figure is wearing upper garment with heavy folds covering both the shoulders. It seems to be the *Saṅghāṭī*. The figure bears a serene facial expression and can be identified with Bodhisattva.[43] Besides it, there is another male figure, possibly Bodhisattva,[44] shown with drapery covering both the shoulders.

A female figure from Sirsa is shown with a pitcher. It is comparable with similar figures from Kaushambi[45], of the Ist and IInd century A.D.

A number of secular figurines have also been found from Haryana. Important among these depict royal personages[46], wrestling scene from Amin[47], warrior killing a lion from Nurangabad[47]. A figurine of a Yogī is also very interesting.

The Kushāṇa terracotta figurines can be classified into different categories on stylistic grounds. One of the categories consists of human figurines with mixed ethnic features—Hellenistic, and the second of Scythian elements. Their emergence reflects comingling of different people and cultures—due to historical reasons. A male-head[49] with a long nose, flattened lips, bulging eyes, a ribben around the head for proper dressing of hair and an ovoloid face depicts Kushāṇa features. Another male[50] head represents an interesting mixture of Hellenistic and Indian elements showing lozenge eyes, oval face, pinched ears, long moustaches and a turban over the head in indigenous style. A noteworthy terracotta male figure from Sugh[51] is shown with a peculiar headgear consisting of a high conical cap with borders of varied designs. The cap is decorated with criss-cross lines and had a crested jewel in the centre. The cap is bounded by a fillet in the mid-part from where it is triangular shape with vertical lines. The figure is having pointed nose, flat chin, round face with bulging eyes. Another male head[52] from Sugh having Indo-Graecan features with a remarkable headdress comprising a band at the lower end with semi-angular designs of which one is missing are artistically shown in his peculiar headgear. The figure is shown with an elongated neck, pointed nose, thick lips, lozenge eyes and prominent chin. A terracotta male figure[53] represents clear Scytho-Parthian elements. The figure is shown with an oval face, slightly protruding eyes, prominent nose, thicker lips, marked chin and has a kullah cap similar to Iranian headgear with a protruding top and criss-cross design. Another figure from Pehowa[54] wears royal apparel like full sleaved shirt and a sash which covers his thighs as well. The folds of this drapery suggest that the plaque bears Gandhāra influence. Another female massive figure[55] from Phurlak in Karnal district is shown with oval face, wearing headdress, open mouth, large ear-rings, armlets, wristlets, and anklets and boots. She is clad in *dhotī* as the lower garment while the upper portion is bare. A male head from Sugh[56] wears a circular crown with pointed ends. It consists of the decoration of punched marked circles on the first horizontal band and further decorated in angular design with dots. The figure is shown with fleshy checks, bulging eyes and pointed nose. Besides it a male head from Mirzapur[57] bears a crest jewel on the forehead and braided hair plates decorated with fillets and punched circlets. It is shown with bow shaped eyebrows and long pointed nose. A typical terracotta head from Thanesar[58] has a high pointed *kullah* cap resembling the Indo-Scythian head gear. The cap depicts a number of small dotted squares along with horizontal band and the pointed tip. Another male head[59] from the same place is shown with a conical skull cap tilting bankwards and worn on a receding forehead. This figure is comparable with the Ahichchhatra figurines.

Besides the human figurines a large number of animal figures have been discovered from this area and majority of them are humped bulls, possibly these might have been worshipped or may have been used for decoration purpose. They might have even served the purpose of children's toys. Some of these terracotta animals bear a hole. A terracotta animal figure of a bull from Sirsa[60] painted in black strips is shown as strong animal with dynamic form. It is treated with red slip. Another one a humped bull[61] from Baursham is embellished by two rope like ornamentations with dot marks and applique design. Similar type of bull has been found from Thanesar[62]. The excavations of Sugh[63] brought to light a large number of animal figurines of elephants, rams, bulls, horses, horses with riders, lions, monkeys, dogs and birds which throw welcome light on the history of this region. The animal figurines are crudely hand modelled. The animal figurines of elephant have prominent temples and lozenge shaped eyes with a punch marked pupil in the centre. The figurines are decorated with applied banks having incised decorations on the back. The terracotta animal figurines of horse are smallers and their manes are indicated by slashes. One horse is shown with a rider. The horse figurines are slightly cruder and the bulls are comparatively better made in this period. The toy figurines of rams[64] have double longitudinal perforation possibly for being draughted to toycarts. Another typical terracotta of tiger[65] found from the same site is shown with twisted tail. The animal figure of a dog[66] is shown with applique eyes and pupils are marked with punches. The figure of tortoise is quite noteworthy.

Conclusion :

The terracotta art mainly flourished during the Kushāṇa period and it reflects foreign influence.

The terracotta art becomes an important vehicle of religious beliefs and ideas during this period. In the Kushāṇa period foreign inspired dresses and ornaments were in vogue. People started wearing long coat and trousers though *dhotī* was also continuing. They wear high helmets and peaked caps. The ornamentation is quite scanty. The Kushāṇa terracottas found from Haryana depict different dresses, ornaments and headgears which reveal the economic condition of the people and their standard of living. Beautiful dresses and fine fabric in terracotta figurines speak of higher strata of society. The poor people wore simply lower garments. Kushāṇa art also throws light on the secular mode of living during this urban period.

NOTES

1. Dhavalikar, M.K., *Masterpieces of Indian Terracottas*, Bombay, 1977, p. 1.
2. Suraj Bhan, *Excavations at Mitathal (1968) and other Explorations in the Sutlej-Yamuna Divide*, Kurukshetra, 1975, pp. 66-67.
3. *Banawali*. A brochure bearing no date and place of publication.
4. *I.A.R.* 1968-69, p. 9.
5. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1921-22, p. 48. Singh, U.V. (1977), 'Later Harappan Culture as revealed by the excavations at Mirzapur and Daulatpur district Kurukshetra (Haryana)', Seminar paper at the Indus civilization Problems and Issues, Simla (cyclostyled); 'Some interesting terracottas from Haryana', *Vajapeya, Essays on evolution of Indian Art and Culture : Prof. K.D. Bajpai Felicitation Volume*, pp. 191-94.
6. Srivastava, H.L., *Excavation at Agroha (Punjab)*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 61, Delhi, 1952.
7. Suraj Bhan, Excavations at Sugh (1964-65),' *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. IX, Nos. 1-2 (1977), pp. 34 ff.
8. Joshi, J.P., "Excavations at Bhagwanpura", *Mahabharata : Myth and Reality* (Eds. S.P. Gupta and K.S. Ramchandran) Delhi, 1976, pp. 238-39; *Puratattva*, No. 8, p. 179.
9. *Indian Archaeology* 1964-65, pp. 33-34.
10. *Ājakala* (Hindi) Nov. 1969 p. 27 S.P. Shukla, *Sculptures and terracottas in the Archaeological Museum, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra*, 1983, pp. 73-74.
11. *Ibid.* pp. 72-73, Pl. LVII.
12. *Ibid.* p. 73, Pl. LVII.2.
13. *Ibid.* p. 72, Pl. LVI, 10-12.
14. Recently explored by the researchers.
15. Agarwal, V.S., "Terracotta figurines of Ahichchhatra", *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1948, p. 114.
16. Saraswati, S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, pp. 155-160.
17. Silak Ram, *Archaeology of Rohtak and Hissar District (Haryana)*, Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), Kurukshetra University, 1932, Pl. XXXA, p. 229.
18. Sheela Devi, *Art Traditions in Haryana*, Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished) Kurukshetra University, 1979, Pl. XIA, p. 82.
19. *Ibid.*, pl. XXX, B.
20. Singh, U.V., *op. cit.*, Pl. a, p. 193.
21. Sheela Devi, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI-D, p. 82.
22. Silak Ram, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXC, p. 230.

23. Agrawal, R.C., "Prāchīna Haryānā", Ājakala, Nov. 1968; p. 28.
24. Punia, D.P., *Archaeology of Mohendragarh and Gurgaon District*, Ph.D. Thesis, (Unpublished), Kurukshetra University, 1976.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 238-39, Pl. XL, A No. 1, 2, B. No. 1.
26. Shukla, S.P., *op. cit.*, Pl. LVII, 3, p. 73.
27. Agarwal, R.C., *Human Figurines on Pottery Handless from India and Allied Problems*, Baroda, 1970, p. 10.
28. Recently Explored by the researcher.
29. Agarwal, R.C., *op. cit.*, p. 10.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1921-22, p. 48.
33. Shukla, S.P., *op. cit.*, Pl. LVII, 5, pp. 73-74.
34. Personal information from Dr. Amar Singh, Dept. of History, M.D. University, Rohtak.
35. Agarwal, V.S., *op. cit.*, p. 125.
36. Van Ingar, *Figurines from Solencia on the Figris* (Univ. of Michigan, 1932), Pl. XXV, fig. 176.
37. *Taxila*, III p. 463. ff. Jain, K.C., *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1972, p. 552.
38. Shukla, V.S., "Some Terracotta Figurines from Sirsa (Haryana)" *Indological Studies, Essays in Memory of Shri S.P. Singhal*, Ed. by Devendra Handa, Delhi, 1987, p. 81, fig. 2.
39. Agarwal, V.S., *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111, Pl. XXXII, 12-13.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ancient India, No. 10-11, p. 84, Pl. XXXVIII, 7.
43. Handa, D.K. and Satyavrat "Religious Terracottas from Sugh", *Haryana Sahitya Academy Journal of Indological Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 97.
44. Suraj Bhan, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
45. Kala S.C., *Terracotta in Allahabad Museum*, fig. 30.
46. Cunningham A., *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XIV, p. 101, Pl. XXVII.
47. Ibid., p. 96, Pl. XXVII.
48. "Haryana Kī Samaskriti", a paper read by Ārchārya Bhagwandev in Writers'

Conference (1967-68) and published by Department of Languages, Govt. of Haryana, 1967-68, p. 20.

49. Singh, U.V., *op. cit.*, p. 11, Pl. B. Fig. 1.

50. *Ibid.*, Pl. IB Fig. 2.

51. Singh, U.V., *op. cit.*, Pl. B, Fig. 12.

52. *Ibid.*, Pl. B. Fig. 3.

53. *Ibid.*, Fig. 7.

54. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. XIV, p. 101, Pl. XXVII.

55. Amar Singh, *'Archaeology of Karnal and Jind District'*, Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), pp. 218-219, Pl. XXIII B.

56. Singh, U.V., *op. cit.*, p. 195, fig. 11.

57. *Ibid.*, fig. 10.

58. Recently explored by the researcher.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Shukla, V.S., *op. cit.*, p. 82, fig. 6.

61. Amar Singh, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIII C, p. 220.

62. Recently explored by the researcher.

63. Suraj Bhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

WOMEN ASCETICS IN PRE-GUPTA INDIA

Jalaluddin Ahemad Khan

A perusal of the Ancient Indian literature reveals the fact that the authorities on both general and legal literature are not unanimous as to what should be the precise position of women in enjoying various religious rights. However, it is unequivocal that the complete right once accorded to this sex was gradually taken away from them. In Vedic period they were regarded as untouchable and impure only when they were going through the period of menstruation and confinement. However, it is stated that a man could not become spiritual whole, unless he was accompanied by his wife (Trasmātpuruṣo jāyām vitvā kṛtsna/taramivātmānaṁ matyate);[1] gods do not accept the oblations offered by a bachelor (Ayajniyo vaiṣa yo 'patnīkaḥ).[2] In *Ṛgveda* we read of the *dampati* (married couple) who "with minds in harmony press the soma, rinse and mix it with milk" and make offerings to god.[3] From later vedic period onwards their religious position was lowered down. They were now compared with Sūdras.[4]

We should bear in mind here that territorial state with its settled family life and hierarchical bureaucratic structure and standing army came into being only during the later half of the first millennium B.C. Plenty of archaeological evidence is now available to show that large agrarian based kingdoms with social formations fashioned into castes came into being after the vedic period. The Ṛgvedic period was largely marked by pastoral life and the later vedic period was a transitional time from pastoral to the settled way life.[5] The attitude to woman was bound to change and there is little wonder that she came to be classed with other uprivileged sections of society such as Śūdras and outcastes. Patriarchial system was fully established resulting in degradation of woman's status.

The epics have preserved for us a number of stories of women who were noted for their spiritual aspirations. The old narratives of Sulabhā,[6] Swayamprabhā[7] and Pingalā[8] indicate that there were women ascetics and philosophers who had mastered the mysteries of life and death. It is observed that so far as vedic sacrificial religion, coronations and Srādhas[9] were concerned, the wife had important role to play. Often they performed sacrifices independently.[10]

One might be tempted to conclude from the references cited above that position of women in religious life was equal or near equal to that of men. However, we should not overlook the fact that the epics do not represent the reality of one particular century in time scale or a segment of society with geographical demarcation. If their narative portion is datable to early first millennium B.C. the didactic portions were inserted as late as early christian centuries.[11]

The Buddha was willing to impart sacred teaching to women only when they could receive it along with their husbands.[12] Because he believed that women were full of inconsistencies and with them there was no difference between truth and untruth. But later on, after repeated pleas of Ānanda, he consented to permit women to enter into the state of houselessness. Thus he introduced a new institution, viz., the institution of *Bhikkhuṇīs* as distinct from *Bhikkhu* Saṁgha.

Most of the legal authorities are strictly against the notion of women's participation in religious activities.[13] According to H.C. Chakladar, her duties as a mother are too exacting to permit a woman to pass through the course of rigorous discipline and austerities requisite for moral participation and spiritual advance. Therefore, the scriptures assure her that if she but carries out her own duties and associate herself with her husband in the religious exercises, she fully shares in the advance towards the goal.[14]

In general, however, women were not encouraged to take up a life of religion or asceticism. Their true function was marriage, and the care of their menfolk and children. But the better class laywomen seem to have been educated, and there are several references to works of *Smṛtī* writers as well as epigraphic records where women ascetics are more often mentioned. It seems that when the epics were first written the conservative attitude of *Dharmaśāstras* had not gained ground. The austerities performed by Ambā and Anusūyā were beyond the capacities of many Ṛshis.[15] A hermitage near Kurukshetra, seat of women ascetics, deserves special mention. Here observing the vow of *Brahmacārya* (celibacy) from her young age a *Brāhmaṇi* maiden rose a high point in ascetic eminence. She acquired unusual yogic power and became *Siddhā*.[16] Disā and Swayamprabhā had taken the vow of celibacy, and were living as ascetics.[17] Sramanī Sabarī used to put on barks and skin of antelope and has been described as "Jaṭila Tāpasī" with her āsrama at pampā and with Mātanga her late perceptor.[18] In the epics we come across such words as "Bhiksuni", "Pravrajita" and "Tapaswini", which clearly point to the fact that the women too practised asceticim and performed penances.[19]

Notwithstanding, the prohibition by Kautilya of initiating women into the ascetic order, it appears from his work that there was no dearth of women ascetics in his age. The king is advised to employ an ascetic woman (*Parivājikā*) who was a poor, widowed, bold, and clever Brāhmaṇa lady desirous of earning her livelihood thereby; she would be honoured in the king's family and would frequent the houses of the chief minister *(mahāmātrakulas)*, and work as a secret spy.[20] Ascetic women *(Pravrājitās)* appear to have been employed by the supertintendent of weaving, and spinning.[21] Megasthenes also says, "women pursued philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual relations."[22] These may be the women in the Vanaprastha stage who practised austerities with their husbands, or they may be the ladies studying the vedas (brahmavādinis).

Women's preference to asceticism might have been due to complete denial of all other courses except marriage. Education was not easily available and widowhood was life long torture and tragedy. The position inside the family and society being absolutely subordinate, they had little initiative and independence. A contemporary scholar remarks : "the Indian mother cannot but acquiesce in aggression directed towards herself by her children too, for these soon learn that the status of a woman is subservient to that of man."[23] Hence asceticism was preferred.

Inscriptional records are not wanting to throw light on this class. The Nasik cave inscription directly refers to a female ascetic named Tāpasini who granted a cave to the universal Saṁgha of ascetics.[24] It is difficult to make out how did she command enough resources to finance the excavating of a cave. After switching over to ascetic life, hardly any *Stridhana* or property right she could retain. Possibly some lay donors made the money available placing it at her disposal. To quote another inscription, "an ornament arch for the temple gift of the layhearer Utaradāsaka, son of the Vachhi (Vātsi mother and) disciple of the ascetic Mahārakshita.[25] These inscriptions conclusively proves woman's taking to asceticism. In the two surviving inscriptions on the coping of the Bodh-Gayā railing Kurangi is introduced as elderly wife of king Indrāgnimitra, while in the fifteen shorter inscriptions, on the uprights of the same railing she is honoured as Ayā Kuraṁgi (Āryā Kuraṅgi). Having regard to the fact that in both Buddhist literature and inscriptions the epithet ayya or *ayira* (ārya) is applied to the name of a person who has attained *Arhatship*, it may be presumed that Kuraṅgi passed a retired life as *bhikshuṇi* in her old age and that she was found to be in an advanced state of spirituality.[26] There is one inscription of Junnār Buddhist cave which records the erection of a nunnery *(bhikshuṇi Upasaya)* in the town for the residence of the bhikshuṇis of the Dharmāttariya sect.[27] So far as Mathura is concerned, we know of one inscription, assigned to the reign of Huvishka in which *Bhikshuṇi* Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the *Bhikshuṇi* Buddhamitrā, is said to have set up a Boddhisattva image at Madhuravananka (Mathuravana).[28] At Amaravati, however, one may obtain as many as eight inscriptions which, too, go to prove that the Buddhist community continued to be constituted of *bhikshus*, *bhikshuṇis*, Upāsakas and Upāsikās. In all of them the bhikshuṇis, otherwise called Samaṇikā and Pavajitikā, figure as female donors.[29] In one instance a *bhikshuṇi*, called Buddhā, is described as the sister of the Thera chetiyavandaka Bhadanta Budhi, and in two records the bhikshuṇis are introduced as the resident female pupils of two saintly thereas, Budharakhitā of the Thera Bhadanta Budharakshita, and Nanda of the Arhata Ayira Budharakhita. One inscription speaks of vasā (Vasyā) as a Pavajitikā resident in Kevurura.[30]

This survey of Buddhist records show that female ascetics were permitted to hold property which they used for purposes sanctioned by the canon or custom otherwise how can one explain so many donations by the *bhikshuṇis* when the fact of becoming a *bhikshuṇi* meant renunciation of worldly possession and severence of all family connections.

The above discussion has convincingly proved that the restriction imposed on women by the Ancient Indian literature in delivering their religious duties was probably in view of changing social environment which was ushered with the advent of heterodox religions. Whatever may be the fact, the restriction and limitation was only in black and white, no section of the society was amenable to it and they were not forced to approximate to the position of literature and to lead their life accordingly. However, subordinate position in Brahmanical literature has been beautifully analysed and convincingly explained in a profound and perspective paper, the relevant portion of which we quote below :

"From the sketchy overview of the broad pattern of changes in the position of women over the last two thousand years or more, it is clear that access to education and active participation in productive labour were the two main groups on which the high status of women in the Rgvedic period stood. From the time they were withdrawn from productive labour a steady erosion in their freedom and consequently of their status took place. So long as Āryans were busy with wars and political consolidation, the society was relatively egalitarian, caste hierarchisatian had not classified society and women had considerable freedom and high status with the establishment of Āryan domination over other communities and principalities, and the use of slave labour to produce surplus, the relationship of subordination and superordination between master and slave was presumably turned in words. From an egalitarian social order, he shift had taken place to hierarchised structure and woman was subordinated to man. This was naturally paralleled by greater elaboration of vedic knowledge and rituals and rationalisations and interpretations of the emerging norms and values.[32]

REFERENCES

1. A.Br., I.2.5.
2. S.Br., V.1.6.10.
3. RV. VIII, 31.
4. S.Br., XIV.1:1.31; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II.8.3; Baudh.Dh.S., IV.5.4; Manu, XI.224.
5. Sharma, R.S. : *Material culture and social Formations in Ancient India*, Macmillan India Ltd., Bombay, 1983, p. 22ff.
6. Mbh.XII.320.77ff.
7. Ram.IV.51.81-17; VII:17.17 Vedāvatī; Ram. II.117.8-12.Anusūyā.
8. Mbh.XII. 174. 56ff; 178.8.
9. Ram. II.4.23; VI.128.60; II.103.20-21; Mbh.XII.40. 13-14; Mbh. 114.13; Mbh.XIII.168.20.
10. Rām.II.25.27ff.20. 14-19.
11. Basham, A.L. : *The wonder that was India*, Rapa & Co. (second impression), Delhi, 1974, p.39.
12. Dialogues of Buddha, S.B.E., II, p. 135.
13. Baudh, Dh.S., II, 2.3.44; vide SBE, Vol. XIV, pt.II; Gautama Dh.S., XVIII.1; Manu. IV.205.IV.206.
14. Chakladar, H.C. : "Some Aspects of social life in Ancient India," *in the Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. II, Part V, (Reprint), The Rama Krishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1969, p. 576.
15. Mbh. V.189.19ff; XIII, 14.96, Ram. II.117.9-10.
16. Mbh. IX.54.5-6.

17. Mbh. XIII. 19-21, Ram. IV.51.1. & 16.

18. Ram. III.74.5-33.

19. Ram.II.29.13., Mbh. XIII. 104. 132; 23.64. Cf. Vātsāyana's "Kāmasutra," I.5.32 (12) p. 41.

20. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, trans. by R. Shamasastry, 3rd edn., Westeyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1929, I.12.8.

21. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, trans. by R. Shamasastry, 3rd edn., Westeyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1929. II.23.40.

22. M.C. Crindle, Ancient India As described by Megasthenes & Arrian, Chuckerventy, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., (2nd edn.), Calcutta, 1960, p. 103.

23. Chakladar, H.C., *op.cit.*, p. 565.

24. Lannoy, R. *The Speaking Tree*, Oxford, 1971, p. 89.

25. Senart, E. The Inscriptions in the caves at Nasik, *Epigraphia Indiaca*, Vol. VIII, (No. 7, Plate. III) No. 8. p. 76.

26. Bühler, G. "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, No. 14, p. 195.

27. Law, B.C. "Bhikshuni in Indian Inscriptions," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, p. 31.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Mukherji, Partha, N. "Sex and social inequality : A Methodological Approach," in Gupta, A.K. (ed.) *Women and Society* (The Development Perspective). Criterian Publications, New Delhi, 1986. p.5.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.Br. : Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
S.Br. : Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
RV. : ṚgVeda
Mbh. : Mahābharāta
Ram. : Rāmāyaṇa
Bandh. Dh. S. : Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
Gautama Dh. S. : Gautama Dharma Sūtra.

FATHER HERAS : AN INTERNATIONALLY RENOWNED HISTORIAN

N. S. Gorekar

Father Henry Heras (1888-1955) whose Birth Centenary is being commemorated this year, was so great an internationally known priest-scholar, teacher-researcher, historian-archaeologist, and above all, a great good-man that as a fitting memorial to his devoted service to the cause of research studies in Indian history, the Government of India's Communication Ministry through its Post & Telegraph Department issued a Commemorative Postage Stamp in 1981. The St. Xavier's College authorities, immediately after his sad demise in 1955, named the Indian Institute of Historical Research as the Heras Institute of Indian History & Culture, while his students and admirers established the Heras memorial Fund in 1956 with Dr. Hari Krishna Mehtab, the then Governor of Bombay, as its Patron, with the objective of developing the Institute in its many-sided activities, to perpetuate his memory. And in collaboration with this Fund the Institute in 1960 instituted an annual series of lectures as the Heras Memorial Lectures, and to further the research activities, a bi-annual journal, *Indica,* was started in 1964, published regularly since its inception, with a high standard of Heras tradition of scholorship and research.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, a historian of repute, once said that Father Heras was a true son of the land of his birth, Spain, and also a distinguished son of the land of its adoption, India. And consequently he combined in his self the praiseworthy qualities of the Spainards, such as passion for work, love of teaching, and involvement in the assigned task, along with the laudable virtues of the Indians like sense of Indianness, sentiment of *guru-chela* link, and devotion to the profession of teaching. This twin amalgamation of Indian virtues and Spanish qualities made him the real symbol of international culture in the true sense of the word.

It goes without saying that Father Heras left his mark on the ancient and medieval history and culture in a triple dimension, emerging as its genuine torch-bearer. Firstly, his love of teaching, coupled with *guru-sisya* relationship, made Father Heras not only a revered teacher but also prompted him through his love and affection for his disciples to create a team of devoted good students who in course of time shone as respectable historians, researchers, and teachers. Secondly, his creation of the Indian Historical Research Institute in 1926, being the first of its kind, produced a number of historian-researchers and teacher-scholars in the persons of Dr. George Moraes, Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Dr. L. B. Keny, Dr. B. G. Gokhale, Prof. William Coelho, Dr. C.J. Shah, Dr. Moreshwar Dixit, and, of course, Father John Correia-Afonso who, as his *sisya*, has been championing the cause of history after Father Heras as the Director of the Institute, though in his absence while abroad, Father Adolf Esteller, a Sanskritist and Father Anthony De Costa, a historian, held this high academic office also for some time. And thirdly, his works on history, particularly *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* and *Proto-Indo-Mediterrenean Culture,* which he commenced in 1934 and continued for years without getting tired and fatigued. In a word Father Heras, in fact, made history and raised this discipline to a great height in the academic world.

With all humility I would like to submit that I came to know Father Heras when I joined the College for my First Year in 1938, fifty years ago, and was in close touch after my graduation in 1942 not in history but in oriental studies of which Father Heras knew the importance, and hence he wanted me to render Arabic and Persian quotations and sometimes Urdu also, in the English language. I must say that it was Moulvi Syed Muhammad Sayeed Reza who was my respected teacher, and friend and colleague of Father Heras who introduced me to him for such type of work. Father Heras was very happy and he got me inducted as a member of the Institute staff in the fifties.

Fr. Heras who joined the staff of St. Xavier's College in 1922 states : "A few days after my arrival," Fr. Blatter then Principal of St. Xavier's College asked me : "What history do you want to teach"? Without hesitation I replied : "Indian History only". I still remember the surprise revealed in his face : "What Indian history do you know ?" he inquired. "None" was my emphatic reply. His feeling of surprise deepened. "How are you going to teach it ?" he finally queried. "I shall study it", I replied. And Fr. Heras continued, "I began my study then, and I have not yet finished. Today I am still studying."

In 1947 when India became free he took over the citizenship of India and Indianized himself and passionately worked for Indian history and culture in a systematic way and on a scientific line. He wrote several books or monographs and articles which show his erudite scholarship and vast learning, uptodate data and extreme thoroughness. His conclusions may not always be acceptable but his methodology cannot be challenged. Father Heras emphasised the historical method which among other things, included heuristics, criticism, synthesis, and exposition. He wanted that history should be an accurate account of what really happened and occurred under the prevailing circumstances and existing conditions, in order to enable the scholar cum researcher to present a faithful and meaningful evaluation of all the facts and figures, after careful checking of all the testimonies and documents coupled with internal and external evidences. He further thought that history should be written from deep-rooted background of scholarship and research, attaching due importance to heuristics, a *sine qua* of historical significance. Dr. George Moraes has rightly said while delivering his Heras Memorial Lecture in 1975 that Father Heras urged the research-scholar to collect notes from state papers and private correspondence, from archives and libraries, from annals and chronicles, from biographies and auto-biographies, and from diaries and journals and even newspapers, in addition to secondary works and such other source material.

Further he wanted the researcher to make a proper and objective evaluation of the source material with the method of historical criticism for ascertaining the authenticity and credibility of available material against the background of the spirit and mentality of the then times. And obviously, as a result, the scholar has to interpret the part played by the individuals during the events, keeping in view the mental attitude and philosophical outlook, influencing individuals as well as the corporate activities.

Father Heras has written thirteen books and about three hundred articles published in various standard magazines and research journals. To Father Heras the study of history was not confined to evaluating of political or dynastic history but was considered to understanding the evolution of ideas, institutions, and persons, and as such both the teacher and the taught have to undertake investigation of minute details or rather neglected aspects like social, economic, religious, archaeological or educational of different periods of the ancient, medieval and modern Indian history. Viewed in this light. Father Heras took to writing of history and wrote with erudition and scholarship. His works whether on the *Manchu Dynasty of China* or on the *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara,* whether on the *Religious Policy of Asoka, the Peace Maker*, or the *Din-e-Ilahi of Akbar, the Great Mughal*, whether on the *Spread of Buddhism in Afghanistan* or on the *Diffusion of Indian Culture in Yeman*, all are systematic and scientific studies.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, while commenting on Dr. George Moraes's remark in regard to Father Heras's research works, has once said that it was not necessary that all the research works should be chiselled pieces. They should be treated as challenges thrown by Father Heras and which according to Dr. Joshi can be settled through a frank discussion or from a clash of ideas. Further Dr. Joshi says that Father Heras considered India as his *karma-bhumi* and as a teacher he aroused interest of the pupils in this discipline and created a new force in the academic life of the University of Bombay through his prestigious Institute, and thus founded a dynasty of researchers of whom some have reached the heights of eminence in scholarship and research.

Father Heras who started his mission of Indian history and culture single-handed, turned into a team of devoted scholars in course of time. An Urdu poet puts it rightlv as follows :

میں اکیلا ہی چلا تھا جانب منزل مگر
لوگ ساتھ آتے ہی گئے اور کارواں بنتا گیا

Main Akela hi chala tha Janib-e-Manzil magar
Log saath aate hi gaye aur Karvaan banta gaya

(Though I have been going alone towards the goal People commenced joining me, and it emerged into a caravan)—

I conclude by quoting from Father Heras's writings about India, a multi-coloured country [which Father John Correia Afonso has said in his address delivered at the Heras Memorial Lecture in 1975]: "The history of India is not the history of a nation; it is the history of a continent in which peoples have been fused together; it is the history of many migrations all of whom have left gold dust in their train; it is the history of many dynasties which altogether have raised monuments which at times are real skyscrapers; it is the history of much knowledge contained in its profound *sastras* of world fame; it is the history of incomparable aesthetic conceptions at all levels of aesthetics; it is the history of very ancient literatures, the *Dravidian* and the *Sanskritic* which conceal inexhaustible riches of historical data, and an imposing farrage of epic works, *puranic* or dramatic".

And since Father Heras is not now with us in person but very much alive in spirit, hence we salute and pray by reciting a hemistich from a couplet of the poet of the East, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal :

آسماں تیری لحد پہ شبنم افشانی کرے!

Asmaan teri Lahad pe Shabnam-afshani kare !
(May Heaven sprinkle dew-drops on your grave !)

AL-BĪRŪNĪ ON HINDU IDOL-WORSHIP

J. K. Sharma

Abu Raihan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī, popularly known as al-Bīrūnī was born on September 4, 973 AD at Berun, a small place situated on the outskirts of the city of Khwarizm.[1] The date of his Indian visit or visits (?) and actual stay continues to be a matter of controversy. Elliot says that he stayed for forty years in India.[2] However, this appears to be too long a period, for we find him awefully busy in composing more than a hundred of works on subjects other than Hinduism in Muslim lands. The fact that he completed his work on India, entitled the *Tahqiq-Mal-Lil Hind,* also known as the *Kitāb al-Hind* at Ghazni in c. 1030 AD, shows that his stay in India might not have been so long. It has been suggested that he may have visited India between 1017 AD and 1030 AD. But we find him at Ghazni in September 1025 AD. completing his book the *Kitabut Tahdid*. Thus, if he visited anterior to 1025 AD, his stay could not have been more than six to seven years. But if he visited India after 1025 AD, then his stay could have hardly been of two or three years.[3]

Al-Bīrūnī was a restless genius and a prolific writer. It is believed that he wrote about 120 books on various disciplines.[4] He propounded certain original revolutionary theories in branches as diverse as Medicine and Astronomy, Mathematics and Chronology, Physics and History, Anthropology and Religion, Geography and Natural Science, Astrology and Meteorology, History and Sun Clocks, Ethics and Geology, Medicine and Poetry. He enriched his knowledge further by undertaking long and tireless journeys which took him to many regions of the ancient world. Since this kept him away from his country, or his native place for long, he came to be called as 'Bīrūnī', which literally means 'The Outsider'.[5]

The Muslim in him would not have encouraged him to contribute a full chapter (XI) on the origin of idol-worship and individual idols in Book I of the *Kitāb al-Hind*. Besides he gives certain scattered references about it at various places. But as a true historian, he does not mind giving even such features of Hinduism which are surely inimical to the precepts of Islam. Probably his motive in describing Hindu idols and idol-worship is to differentiate the educated people from the uneducated ones. He categorically but repeatedly asserts that while the former believed in monotheism like Islam, the latter held ludicrous views and resorted to idolatory. It was the latter alone which continued to remain under the tremendous influence of the sacredotal class, and performed all such things which were wrong. The uneducated people being ignorant were the victims of all sorts of priestly tricks. Thus, to al-Bīrūnī the educated Hindus possessed ideas on the oneness and unity of God. He finds the presence of similar things among the uneducated Jews, the Christians, and even ignorant Muslims. It is evident that an illiterate person belonging to any religion or sect could become a victim to such things. Al-Bīrūnī is surely an apt and perceptive interpreter of human character. "He at once realises how ignorance at first mystifies and then leads men to accept authorities which may or may not be in their interest. Idols are created to provide the uneducated with a material replication of that which demands their respect and homage. Over time such monuments become a matter of ritualistic veneration and subsequent generations are kept in awe by authorities who sense their success is linked with the symbol being venerated".[6] Symbols are used even today. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany made use of rituals and ceremonies to rally their semi-informed, highly indoctrinated people. Thus, al-Bīrūnī simply describes the various aspects of idolatory, viz., difference between educated and uneducated people, origin of idolatory in various nations, some important Hindu idols. While doing so, he aims at giving sanctity to historical facts. For him, history is what it actually was, and not what it ought to have been. He makes his personal comments only wherever he finds him justified. He says, "In most parts of my work I simply relate without criticising, unless there is a special reason for doing so".[7] He does not write a book on India from a polemical point of view, but only as "a simple historic record of facts".

Al-Bīrūnī describes the educated and uneducated people and their respective attitudes thus :

> "The former strive to coneive abstract ideas and to define general principles, whilst the latter do not pass beyond the apprehension of the senses, and are content with derived rules, without caring for details, especially in questions of religion and law, regarding which opinions and interests are divided".[8]

He finds the educated Hindus monotheists who follow the righteous path. Thus, "for those who march on the path to liberation, or those who study philosophy and theology, and who desire abstract truth which they call *sāra*, are entirely free from worshipping anything but God alone, and would never dream of worshipping an image manufactured to represent him".[9] He writes again :—

> "The Hindus believe with regard to God that he is one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free-will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving; one who in his sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and unlikeness, and that he does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble him".[10]

Al-Bīrūnī writes further about the educated Hindus thus :—

> "They call him Īśvara, i.e. self-sufficing, beneficent, who gives without receiving. They consider the unity of God as absolute, but that everything beside God which may appear as a unity is really a plurality of things. The existence of God they consider as a real existence, because everything that exists through him".[11]

But where were not such illiterate people available ? They were present in Christianity and Islam also. He says, "as common people will only acquiesce in pictorial representations, many of the leaders of religious communities have so far deviated from the right path as to give such imagery in their books and houses of worship, like the Jews and Christians and more than all, the Manichaeans".[12] As regards the ignorant Muslim people he says :—

> If "a picture of the Prophet were made, or of Mekka and the Ka'ba, and were shown to an uneducated man or woman. Their joy in looking at the thing would bring them to kiss the picture, to rub their cheeks against it, and to roll themselves in the dust before it, as if they were seeing not the picture, but the original, and were in this way, as if they were present in the holy places, performing the rites of pilgrimage, the great and the small ones".[15]

If the uneducated or low-born people are more prone to the priestly tricks, it is because they succumb to such pressures because of their limited understanding and low intellect. Al-Bīrūnī says that they are unable to understand certain things which the teachers describe about God or universe. Such philosophical explications are beyond the comprehension of most of literate people. He gives certain illustrations. Thus, when a Hindu teacher calls God as a *point*, the average person will not agree to accept that God is really as small as a *point*. He develops in his imagination that God being the Greator, may be a big personality. Similarly, when it is said that God is omniscience and comprehends the universe, and nothing is concealed from Him, the uneducated person will imagine that God must have many eyes.[14] Thus, it is the dullness or lack of education in ordinary men that place them under the ever increasing influence of the priests and superstitious things.

Al-Bīrūnī does make a well-founded differentiation between the educated and the uneducated Hindus by suggesting that the former are monotheists and the latter as idolators, and are prone to all kinds of superstitious beliefs and priestly exertions. It is true that the educated people believe more in reason and tend to investigate what is actually true. But to say that all educated people are monotheists is far from the actual truth. We come across many instances of erection of idols by the kings, the merchants and educated people. It is oft repeated in the inscriptions that erecting idols is a meritorious deed and it gives spiritual merit to one who gets it erected. This noble act is also for the benefit of one's dead ancestors. Al-Bīrūnī also quotes extensively from the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* certain rules and precautions, which should be meticulously taken while making the idols of gods. this itself is a sufficient proof to negate the oft-repeated description of al-Bīrūnī to the effect that while the educated people believed in the existence of one God, the illiterate multitudes resorted to idolatory. This tactical mistake can be traced from certain handicaps of al-Bīrūnī. He visited India at a time when the political atmosphere was highly explosive, because Mahmūd had been playing with the sentiments of the Hindus by destroying their idols. His Indian visit remained confined to certain regions of western Panjab, which is now termed as Pakistan. Similarly, his source of information was either the orthodox brāhmaṇas, or their out-dated texts. His stay in India also appears to be too short to make any sweeping statements. To add to this, he did not have an access to all the source-material of the Hindus.

Probably al-Bīrūnī selected to write on the Hindu idol-worship and their individual idols, because it must have fascinated him. But fearing a rebuke from his co-religionists, he cleverly divided his description into two parts—the educated and the uneducated Hindus. It is his guilt which compels him to assert repeatedly that the idol-worship was confined to illiterate masses alone. This is absolutely wrong, and the history of early medieval India negates al-Bīrūnī.

Al-Bīrūnī says that when the common people are shown the pictures of their old religious leaders, or their places of worship, they start making idols in honour of such venerated persons, prophets, sages and angels. Such memorials are erected to keep their memories alive. But after sometime its origin is either forgotten or relegated to the background, and its veneration becomes a general practice.[15] It is evident that the Hindus do not make an idol of any supernatural being, and, therefore, it would be illogical to confound God with the idols. Rather the idols serve as intermediaries between the people and God. Al-Bīrūnī quotes extensively from the *Gītā*, wherein it is said that many people try to approach God through something which is completely different from him. The endeavour to receive his favour by giving alms, praise and prayer to someone else. They are helped in fulfilling their wishes.[16] However, at another place it is made abundantly clear in the *Gītā* that whatever is obtained by desires and intermediation is not ever-lasting, since it is only as much as is deserved for any particular merit. An ever-lasting thing is only one which one gets from God alone.[17] Again, when the ignorant multitudes get some good luck by sheer accident, or something for which they had aspired, and when this is combined with the preconcerted tricks of the priests, their darkness increases greatly. "They will rush to those figures of idols, maltreating their own figures before them by shedding their own blood and mutilating their own bodies".[18] Idols serve simply as intermediaries between man and God. They should not be confused with God, who is one and omnipresent. But the idol-worship takes a person too far away from God.

Similarly, the ancient Greeks took the idols as mediators between them and the *First Cause*. They worshipped them under the names of the stars and the highest substances.[19] The heathen Arabs after importing their idols from Syria started worshipping them, hoping to intercede for them with God.[20]

Al-Bīrūnī quotes the following from Plato's fourth chapter of the *Book of Laws* thus :

> It is necessary to any one who gives perfect honours (to the gods) that he should take trouble with the *mystery* of the gods and Sakīnāt, and that he should not make special idols masters over the ancestral gods. Further, it is the greatest duty to give honours as much as possible to the parents while they live.[21]

Al-Bīrūnī also produces a reply of Aristotle which he gives to the query of Alexander regarding certain questions of the brāhmaṇas. He says :—

> "If you maintain that some Greeks have fabled that the idols speak, that the people offer to them and think them to be spiritual begins, of all this we have no knowledge, and we cannot give a sentence on a subject we do not know".[22]

Al-Bīrūnī describes some important idols of the Hindus present in various places. Multān was famous for the idol of Sun *(Āditya)*. It was made of wood and covered with red cordovan leather, and there were rubies in its eyes. It was of antiquity, and believed to have been made in the last *Kṛitayuga*. Thus it was made about 216, 432 years ago. Al-Bīrūnī challenges the story of its erection by saying that how could wood have lasted for such a long time ? When the Karmatians occupied Multān, it was broken into pieces and killed its priests.[23]

Thānesar was famous for the idol of Lord Vishṇu *(Chakrasvāmin)*. It was made of bronze, and was of the life size of a man. It dates back to the time of Bhārata as a memorial of wars connected with the name. Al-Bīrūnī saw it alongwith the idol of *Liṇga* from Somanāth in the hippodrome in Ghazni.[24]

There was a wooden idol of Shārda near the mountains of Bolār in inner Kāshmīr. The place was about two or three days' journey from the capital. It was greatly venerated and visited by the pilgrims.[25]

There was a *Liṅga* of Mahādeva made of stone in a temple at Somanāth (Gujarāt). The tradition refers to its making in the remotest past. It was adorned with coverings and trappings of gold, jewels, and embroidered garments. A jug of water from the Ganges and a basket of flowers from Kāshmīr were brought here daily. It was believed that the *Liṅga* would cure people of all inveterate iilness and heal all desperate or incurable diseases. Mahmūd destroyed it in A.H.416. He ordered its upper part to be broken and the remainder to be carried to Ghazni alongwith all its precious metals. A part of it was thrown into the hippodrome of the town. Another part of it was placed before the door of the mosque of Ghazni on which people rub their feet to clean them from dirt and wet.[26]

Strangely enough, he prefers to choose for his description four idols of the Hindus only. It is an open secret that nearly all important cities or twons of India were connected with various temples of gods. Rather after the urban decay became a reality in early medieval India, most of the urban centres flourished simply because they served as religious centres only. This doubtlessly shows that al-Biruni possessed an inadequate knowledge about the various places of India.

Summing up, it can be stated that al-Bīrūnī has given a graphic picture of Hindu idol-worship, and its individual idols. He is right in saying that idols served as intermediaries between man and God. But his soft-spoken assertions that only illiterate people resorted to idolatry, is opposed to the existing historical facts. Even the educated Hindus were the victims of idolatry. His description of simply four idols of the Hindus located at Multān, Thānesar, a place in Kāshmīr and Somanāth gives the impression that he possessed inadequate information about the various religious centres of India. His visit covered only a few places of western Punjab, and he failed to have an access to all the source-material of the Hindus lying scattered and incoordinated from centuries. This was aggravated by the non-communicative spirit of the Hindus, especially towards all the foreigners. He tried to overcome all the handicaps by getting nearer to truth. But this was not possible always, and hence we find him believing what can be termed as half-truths and hearsay. It also highlights that contrary to his tall claims of bringing objectivity in his description, he not only endeavours to take the defence of all educated Hindus unnecessarily, but also betrays the faith of his readers by not fulfilling his promise, which he makes while preparing to write on the Hindus. He promises to make his book "a simple record of facts," but when all true facts are not available to him, how could he achieve objectivity ? We find him indulging in over-reactions on certain issues which certainly did not deserve such treatment. If he is trying to project the educated Hindus as monotheists, he is simply stretching the material unnecessarily. Or, else, if he attempts to show that the educated Hindus could be rellied around Islam because of their similar religious feelings, he was sadly mistaken. The restrictive nature of Indian education had kept its doors closed for the bulk of Indian population, simply on grounds of birth. It leaves hardly any justification for al-Bīrūnī to develop a kind of pre-conceived bias against the people who were left beyond the pale of civilisation deliberately.

REFERENCES

1. For details on al-Biruni's birth-place see F. A. Shamsi, "Abū Al-Raihān Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Bayrūnī 362/973-CA 443/1051", *Al-Bīrūnī Commemorative Volume* (ed.) Hakim Mohammad Said, Karachi, 1979, pp. 262-268.

2. Elliot, H. M. & Dowson, J., *History of India as told by its own* Historians, Vol. II, with an Introduction by Mohammad Habib, Aligarh, 1952, pp. 2-3.

3. J. S. Mishra, *Albiruni-An 11th Century Historian* (English), Varanasi, 1985, pp. 9-11. After discussing minutely all the views of scholars, he comes to the conclusion that al-Bīrūnī's stay in India could not have been more than two years i.e. he visited between 1027 and 1029 A.D.

4. G. Allana, "Abu Raihan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī", *Al-Bīrūnī Comm. Vol. op. cit.*, p. 150; it is said that al-Bīrūnī's books and monographs exceed 190 and many more are being discovered, Nafis Ahmad, "Some Glimpses of al-Bīrūnī as a Geographer", *Al-Bīrūnī Comm. Vol., op. cit.*, p. 148.

5. G. Allana, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-152.

6. Lawrence Ziring, "Al-Bīrūnī one Thousand Years After" *Al-Bīrūnī Comm. Vol.. op. cit.*, p. 309.

7. E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 2 volumes in one, Popular Edition, London, 1914, Vol. I, p. 25.

8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 27.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 102-105.

SOFT DRINKS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

S.P. Sangar

Water

The English traveller Edward Terry remarked in the second decade of the 17th century that water, the most ancient and innocent drink of the world, was the common drink of India. He found Indian water much sweeter than that of his homeland. The reason was that in all warm countries it was "more rarefied, better digested, and freed from its rawness by the heat of the sun". Water agreed with the bodies of the majority of the people who on occasions boiled it with some sorts of seeds and cooled it before drinking.[1]

India abounded in *bāolis* and wells. Tulsi Dās refers to *vāpi* and *kūp, sarit* and sar, meaning thereby *bāolis* and wells, rivers and tanks.[2] He mentions a *bāoli* having stairs and with the lotus blossoming there.[3] *Bāoli* was also termed as *vāpikā* and tank as *taḍāg*.[4]

Rivers were the main source for drinking water in addition to a plethora of wells with springs. There were ponds termed as "Tanques", some of which were "exceeding large" and filled with water during abundant rainfall.[5] The rain water was received by the people in vaults made for the purpose and used all the year afterwards. This water was considered as wholesome and better than other sorts.[6]

In June 1696 the Agent and Council of the East India Company wrote from St. Fort George to his subordinates at York Fort that they need not fear using rain water. It might be true that it putrefied, yet in time it was bound to be purified and become sweet even if it was kept in the same jar. It was to become clean in a shorter time if drawn by a crane or hand pump. When clear of its sediment, it could be put from one to another jar "which the greatest critics in water have approved before all other kinds". [6-a]

Because of scarcity of water in some parts of India people did feel obliged to collect rain water in regularly constructed tanks or cisterns. They were so capacious that one sufficed for the whole year or even more. These afforded drinking water both to human beings and beasts and birds. They even washed their clothes and bathed their animals in these tanks rendering the water unclean for drink. The Indians did not care for such delicacies and felt more concerned with what was "barely needful" than anything else, remarks Pietro della Valle.[7] He saw a cistern outside of Ahmadābād, made of stone, having stairs at several angles about it. It had a diametre of about half a mile. In the middle there was an island with a small garden, approached only by a well-built bridge having many arches. The bridge was so broad that coaches could go abreast on it. "Indeed, these Indian Lakes are goodly things, and may be reckoned the most remarkable structures of the world", exclaims the Italian traveller.[8] He refers yet to another cistern or lake outside of Cambay. It was square in form and had stairs. It was "a sumptuous marble structure".[9]

Edward Terry observes that tanks in India were made in low places and many of these were deep and large, a mile or more in compass. They were made round or square surrounded by a low stone wall with a number of doors in it. Within that wall there were steps made one below the other going to the bottom which was also paved likewise. These steps were made of stone of square size, laid firm and in very good order. People could go down to have as much water as required. Usually these great receptacles of water were made near populous towns. Just before the annual rainfall, these tanks were fully cleaned so that the water could remain pure and wholesome and then were filled with rainy water during the rains. This water was used throughout the year. The tanks inside the spacious gardens were used for bathing purposes.[10]

Indian tanks, remarks Peter Mundy (1629-30), were usually of two kinds, natural and artificial. The former had some lower ground to which water came from upper parts during the rains. Of this sort there were many in Sūrat, some great and some small. They could be termed as lakes, ponds or pools in accordance with their size. Others were artificial, made by hand, taking away the earth, making them as deep as required, and afterwards made of stone. Such a tank was the *Gopi Talāo* of *Sūrat*. These tanks existed near cities or big towns for common use. Even great men had such sorts of tanks in their own dwellings or gardens. For want of rain for most part of the year these tanks were of great use and pleasure. The *Gopi Talāo* was approximately half a mile "about". made into sixteen squares, built of big and hewn stones, having twenty steps descending downwards. Between every five or six steps there was one much wider than the rest for people to walk on. It had eight entrances for people and cattle, with walls, turrets and fair pavement of sizeable stones. In the middle stood a house. The passage through which water came was walled on each side vaulted and supported with pillars. In the middle of this "Entry" was a pretty small tank, just close to the bigger one. When there was no water prior to the start of rains, they made use of the bottom for the sowing of musk and water melons which had a sudden growth there. In the neighbourhood there stood many fair tombs, gardens and trees which presented a pleasant look.[11] Sir Thomas Roe also alludes to the Gopi Tank.[12] Thevenot calls it a "lovely Tanque" that could be "compared to the fairest that the Romans ever made for publick benefit . . . . certainly a work worthy of a king". He found the entire water used by the people coming only from this "Reservatory". During his visit to Sūrat, Thevenot witnessed five wells which supplied water to the city. They, however, were built only after Gopi had already made this big tank.[13] Finch, Terry, Dellon and Fryer as well make a mention of the Gopi tank.[14] Alexander Hamilton also mentions about this tank in the first quarter of the 18th century.[15]

In middle ages India abounded in *bāolis,* termed by Malik Mohammad Jāyasi also as *Bāvri.*[16] Peter Mundy calls them as deep wells which he saw quite in large numbers near Gwālior in 1630. He saw one of admirable workmanship near Dholpur in January 1631. It had eighty steps, a fair and artificial arched porch for entrance. Going down one could see on either side many passages with stairs, rooms and galleries, all built of large, red stones.[18] Another *bāoli* which he came across near Khusrowbāgh in Allāhābād in 1632 was quite fair to look at. It had about 120 steps. There were also galleries and arches, rooms and *chabūtras* or summer houses to sit in the fresh air "withinside". All the way down it was spacious, easy and "lightsome" so that even a child could go down and drink water from the *bāoli* with his hands. Right over the place where there was water, Mundy found a "faire" mouth of a well from which they drew water with pots, with the help of oxen or otherwise.[19] We learn from another authority that this masonary well "of great depth with a flight of steps leading down to the water" was still in existence in 1882.[20]

The best *bāoli* which Mundy saw was at Ibrāhīmābād near Biāna. It was not so deep as the one at Allāhābād, yet it was "surpassinge in Stately gates, Copulas, Arches, *Chowtrees* (*chabūtras, chautras,* or raised platform for rest etc."), galleries, stone pillars, rooms both above and below. It was a very "costly and curious piece of worke". Mundy thought that it had been built by Nūrjahān. According to Sir Richard Temple, it was the ***Jhālar Bāoli,*** two miles north of Biāna, so called from the pillared cloisters surrounding like a fringe *(jhālar)*. It appears from the inscription on it that this *bāoli* was constructed by Kāfūr Sultāni in 1318 A.D. (Ibrāhīm was maternal uncle of Nūrjahān.)[21]

Mundy was at Jāler in Rājasthān on March 31 and April 1, 1633, on his way to Sūrat from Āgra. There the went to visit the castle where he found a *bāoli* which was partly natural and "part by Arte, in forme of a long square about 16 yards longe and 5 or 6 broad by Computation". The *bāoli* was very deep and clear with lot of fish in it. It was filled with water which was first collected in a well on the top of the great mountain. It was cut out of an entire rock and all the sides were as straight as walls. There were steps to descend to the water which was collected from the rains coming from the smaller hills. Although a very charming place, the traveller found it at that time "out of request" having only eight or nine poor dwellers.[22] Six days later, Mundy saw a *bāoli* at Sirohi, which served both the inhabitants and strangers.[23]

According to Tulsi Dās, construction of *bāolis,* digging of wells and tanks, laying out gardens and orchards, building temples and houses for Brāhmaṇas were deemed works of charity.[24]

In Kair, the famous Gujarāt ruler, Mahmūd Begada, had built a *bāoli* as a summer resort. It is now practically ruined. "Above the two stone arches, from which his swing bed was hung, and underground are four winding stairs and eight chambers, the roofs supported by elegant columns, and the walls decorated with bass-reliefs. Sometimes the stairs do not lead to a simple well, but to an underground tank fed by many springs".[25] William Crooke defines a *Bāoli* as a structure consisting of a "series of flights of steps, balconies, and rooms built round an underground spring or reservoir".[26]

Wells have always been regarded as an integral part of rural economy and their builders have commanded special respect in the eyes of the people. Indian rulers from the ancient times took particular care to dig wells and plant trees for the public welfare and Asoka has recorded this in one of his edicts. Earlier, there used to be *katcha* wells, but later the technique of making *pacca* ones was developed. The latter construction consisted in first making a masonary cylinder and then sinking it in the gradually sinking excavated soil, to the spring level. In Rājasthān particularly they used to dig very deep wells, sometimes 700 feet deep, as mentioned by Col. Tod. It was not unusual to have wells of the depth of 300 to 500 feet in that region.[27]

Pietro della Valle beheld in Goā "one of the greatest wells. . . round and about twenty of my Paces in Diameter, and very deep". It had parapets or "Walls breast-high round about, with Gates, as one which is a double pair of Stairs leading two ways to the bottom, to fetch water when it is very low".[28]

William Crooke regards it to be the well, known as that of St. Francis Xavier, in which he is said to have taken his bath. He refers to another splend well in the old garden at Āgra, 200 feet in circumference, and "so deep that it makes one dizzy to look over the parapet into the water". Another ancient well in the fort of Rai Bareli in Oudh has a circumference of 108 yards. Mrs. King speaks of a wonder well in a Patiala garden, ranking with an old Roman work, and having a diameter of 50 feet, besides three storeys of arched galleries running round it. Mr. Crooke mentions about wells excavated in the solid rock, like those in the hill-forts of Dategarh and Karad in Satārā. Shāhjahān had built a well at Delhi cut through a rock, water coming from the canal by a long underground passage. Some of such wells made by the Muslim rulers were provided with balconies from which men could dive into the water from a considerable height. The best known wells of this kind are those at the tomb of Nizām-ud-din Auliā in Delhi and that near Akbar's palace at Fatehpur Sikri.[29]

Manucci speaks of deep wells in Lāhore,[30] and also mentions the method of drawing water from them.[31] The wells for drinking water, writes Pelsaert, were fed upon springs and cost much for their construction.[32] Water was drawn from the wells in buckets and jars and carried home by women. In case the distance happened to be long, it could be carried on the backs of buffaloes and oxen.[33] Water was also taken out of the well with the help of a big leather bag, called *charas*, either by oxen or men.

William Crooke thinks that the origin of the curious machine termed as Persian Wheel is quite obscure. But it does not seem to have originated from Persia although the name implies that it came from outside.[34] The name Persian Wheel seems to be a misnomer. The Hindi term for it is *Rahat* or *Arhat* and has often been used by the medieval Hindi poets. Malik Mohammad Jāyasi uses twice the words *'Rahat'* and *'Gharī'*, the latter meaning the earthen pot in the Persian wheel which is filled by and emptied of water, although the English translation gives another meaning to it.[35] Poet Varinda also uses the word *Rahat* and refers to the filling of empty pots with water and emptying of pots of water as is done by the revolving machine.[36] Poet Puhakara also used the term '*Rahat*' for purposes of irrigation and calls the connecting pot as *kumbha*.[37] Peter Mundy (II, p. 101) also refers to the revolving machine used in India in the 17th century.

India abounds in rivers whose water has always been used for drinking purposes. The water of the Gangā river, however, was regarded not only as sacred but useful. One pint of this water weighed an ounce less than any other water in India.[38] A quart of this water was "lighter by much than any other water".[39] The Dutch traveller Pelsaert observes that the Gangājal never "stinks, and no worms appear in it, even if it is kept over 100 years".[40] Philip Baldaeus, another Dutch traveller, wrote in 1660 : "The Mahometnas are, to this day, not free from that superstition; the water of the Ganges being sold among them in bottles at very good price, as we do our spaw waters, and they pay a considerable custom for it".[41] It was so, remarks Manrique, because the Gangā water was supposed never to go bad. He is endorsed by other contemporaries.[42]

The Mughal Emperors had a great preference for the water of the Gangā. Akbar's food was cooked in this water. "His Majesty", writes Abul Fazl, ". . . . both at home and on travels, drinks Ganges water. Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river, who dispatch water in sealed jars."[43]

Edward Terry confirms Abul Fazl's statement. He endorses the assertion of the Indians that the Gangā water weighed one ounce less than any other water in the entire Mughal kingdom. For that reason the Mughal Emperors always preferred the use of this water wherever they might be. There were persons whose only duty was to make arrangements for bringing this water for the royal use. The Gangā water was brought in fine copper jars excellently tinned on the inside and sealed up when they were delivered to the water-carriers for the use of the royal kitchen. Two of these "Jars every one carried bearing upon Slings fitted for the Porters' shoulder".[43]

According to Peter Mundy in the king's palace there was a big jar made of plaster and lime like a Tynaja in Spain (Tinaja : a water jar). It contained three or four butts in which was put the water of the Gangā for the king's own drinking. In India the kings drank no other water but that of the Gangā, however distant the river might be. The water for long distance was carried on camel-backs in brass or copper vessels.[44]

The Dutch, however, who had their dwellings just on the banks of this river, never drank its water without boiling it. With the inhabitants of the country the case was different. They had become accustomed to its use from their very youth and they drank no other water.[45] We learn from the contemporary Persian documents entitled Akhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mu'alla' or the Jaipur Newsletters that the Gangā water was always carried along with the royal camp for the use of Aurangzeb.[46] Indian women were used to go to the river banks for bringing water from rivers in pitchers.[47]

For drinking water they made in Goā vessels of the prettiest and finest clay. Water in them remained cool. These vessels were enamelled in black, white and red, with drawings of animals and flowers. Every vessel was as delicate and fine as glass and had a cover. The vessels for ordinary use there were in the form of glass jars, with wider mouth and lower part of the neck less thick, and known as "gargoulete". From this water came only in very small quantity and not a drop spilled. The local people there had no liking for the Europeans who failed to imitate their fashion of drinking water. Pyrard, however, was of the opinion that that method created windiness. There were no glasses in Goā but for those that came from Persia. The porcelain of China was also available there at ordinary price.[48]

In the kingdom of Cālicut they had large vessels in the form of pitchers, with a tube or pipe one-and-a-half span long made of gilder copper. Thirsty persons approached those in charge of the pitchers, and without entering the enclosure offered their mouths for drink. The water was poured into their mouths without touching the vessel. Before they got water, they received one or two pieces of coconut for eating in view of the oppressive heat there. The Portugese living there had also adopted the same mode of drinking water. There were a number of wells in the country-side, but they were guarded and only certain priests were permitted to draw water from there.[49] While eating, the Portugese followed Indian instead of European manners and avoided the use of spoons. They had also started imitating local Indians in numberless other habits. The local people, remarks Pyrard, "never change theirs".[50] Pietro della Valle observed the Indians taking all care to avoid defilement while drinking water and hence resorted to a method of drinking water that the vessel did not touch the mouth or lips of the user.[51] The Portugese living in India used a water bottle of leather made in Golconda which they found quite useful in this country. Despite hot weather, water in this bottle became cool after a few hours. The

European travellers in India regarded this bottle very convenient during their itinerary in summer.[52] In Goā they drank water from a copper can with a spout in such a manner that not a drop touched their lips.[53] The same was the practice on the Mālābār coast.[54]

The Indians were also familiar with the process of cooling water during summer. They put a quantity of salt-petre to dissolve into a kettle of water and continually stirred the vessel with fresh water until it became cool.[55] The Āīn also gives a similar account of cooling/water.[56]

For drinking water in Goā there was a river surrounding the island. There were also excellent springs which came from the rocks and mountains, and turning into streams, watered the island in divers parts. Almost all the houses in Goā had wells whose water was not used for drinking, but only for washing, bathing, cooking and for laundry purposes. This water was used by men and women of "half-castes", after they done the "offices of nature". There were also in Goā some fish-ponds and reservoirs, built of stone, and very pretty. There men and women, boys and girls, drank only water. It was, according to Pyrard, "a great shame to them to drink wine, and to reproach them therewith" was "highly offensive". Women religiously abstained from taking wine. Men of quality did take a cup or two of wine at the most during their meals without mixing water in it.[57]

Referring to drinking water in Bombay, Fryer wrote in 1674 : "There are no fresh water rivers, or falling streams of living water (in India). The water drunk is usually the rain-water preserved in tanks, which decaying, they are forced to dig wells into which it is strained, hardly leaving it brakish taste; so that the better sort have it brought from Massaagoung, where is only one fresh spring". Massaagoung (or Masihganj ?) was a place "up the Bay a mile", and a great fishing town.[58]

The Mughal Emperors tried to procure ice for cooling the drinking water. Ice was brought to Delhi from Nāhan and to Lāhore from the hills down the Rāvi.[59] On November 12, 1706, Prince Mohammad 'Āzam Shāh sent ice to Aurangzeb who ordered it to be sent to Khwāja Khān through Prince Kām Baksh.[60]

Sherbet was a delicious drink and was served to the guests in India during banquets and even otherwise.[61] The Englishmen living in India in the 17th century had picked up the Indian habit to take lemon water mixed with sugar. They called this pleasant drink as *sherbet*.[62] The juice of sugar-cane, known as ***Ikh-rasa***, was always regarded as an excellent sweet drink.[63]

Milk

From the very beginning, milk has been an important item of Indian diet. Abundance of cattle wealth always ensured a constant and continuous supply of milk and milk products in the country. Although the Muslims and Christians relished beef[64], yet the Mughals were extremely conscious of the utility of cows and oxen. If cow provided milk and milk products, ox was an indispensable necesity for ploughing the fields and also for transport. It was the veritable modern truck of the medieval period.[65] Milk was used for drinking. From it were made most of the sweets of which Indians have ever been extremely fond. From milk alone curd and buttermilk was made. There are frequent references to the use of milk and milk products in the contemporary Hindi literature. Milk was regarded as a staple diet which was usually boiled before use "two or three quarters into one", remarks the English traveller of 17th century, Ovington. As a shrewd observer of Indian life, he makes interesting remarks about the necessity of milk food for the married child couples. "For hastening the Young Mistress's Maturity for the conjugal Embraces, great care is taken of a proper Diet, and that she feed plentifully upon Milk, boil'd two or three quarters into one, which they find by experience is very nourishing, and ripens them for being fit to come together at Eleven or Twelve. The Husband drinks largely of melted butter, which he finds very apt to invigorate his Spirits, and makes use of it as Oil to his Flame".[66] Melted butter or *ghee* has been an integral part of Indian food. The Mughal kings used to send expeditions into country side for bringing *ghee* for the royal kitchen, as the same was used in almost every food preparation in sufficient quantities. Milk was also known as goras.[67]

The milk of buffaloes, cows and goats was always available in the streets of towns.[68] In the Ain its price is quoted at 25 *dams* per maund.[69] In the whole country milk was available at very cheap rates.[70] It was usually taken mixed with sugar or sugar-candy.[71]

REFERENCES

1. Terry, Edward, A Voyage to East India, London, 1777, pp. 364-365.
2. पगै पगै पर कुआँ बावरी
Shukla, R.C. : Jāyasi Granthāvali, 2 (6); Shirreff, A.G. : Padmāvati (English Trans.) P. 25
कहुँ बावरी सर कूप राजत :
Bhūshan Granthāvali, Nagiri Prachārini Sabha Vārānasi, 19, p. 6.

वापी कूप सरित सर ताना
Tulsi Das : Rāma Charit Manas, I, 3/245, p. 203.
Dixit, Indian Press, Allāhābād.

3. बिमल सलिलु सरजित बुहरंगा
R.C.M., *Ibid.*, 4/260.

4. बापी त्तड़ाग अनूप कूप मनोहरायत सौहहीं
R.C.M., *Ibid.*, VIII, 4/52, p. 1005.

5. Terry, p. 364.

6. Downton, Nicholas, Voyage of ... (Christopher Farewell's Account); Haklyut Society, London; p. 147.

6-a. Records of Fort St. George : Letters from Fort St. George, 1696, p. 49. Madras Record Office, Madras.

7. Della Valle, Pietro : The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India, ed. Grey; Haklyut Society, London, 1892. Two Volumes, I, p. 18.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

10. Terry, p. 404.

11. Mundy, Peter; The travels of Peter Mundy in Europe & Asia, 1608-1667; ed. R.C. Temple, Haklyut Society, London, 1907 & 1914 : 2 volumes. He came to India in 1628. II, p. 32 (1629-30)., p. 32.

12. Roe, Thomas Roe : The Embassy, ed. William Foster Haklyut Society, London, 1899, p. 112.

13. Dellon, V : A Voyage to the East Indies, London, D. Brown, 1698, p. 40.

13a. Thevenot, Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri; Ed. S.N. Sen, National Archieves of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 35.

14. Finch; *Op. Cit.*, Purchas His Pilgrimes Glasgow; James Maclehose & Sons, 1905, 2 vols., IV, pp. 112;
Dellon : A Voyage to the East Indies, London; D. Brown, 1698, p. 40.
Terry, Edward, pp. 87-88;
Fryer, John : A New Account of East India & Persia; Ed. Crooks; Hak. Soci., 1905-15; 3 vols.; I, p. 261;
Fryer, I, p. 261;

15. Hamilton, Alexander; A New Account of the East Indies (1688-1723); 2 vols.; London, Bettesworth & C. Hitch, 1739. I, pp. 61-62.

16. Shirreff, Padmavati, p. 25.

17. Mundy, II, p. 60.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

19. Mundy, II, p 101.

20. Murray : Handbook for Bengal; *op cit.* Mundy II, p. 101 ff.

21. Mundy, p. 101; also ff.
22. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 250-251.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
24. Rama Charit Manas, ed. Shyam Sundar Das, I, 4/183. p. 150.
25. Crooke, William : Things Indian, Munshiram Manohar Lai, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 511-512.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 511.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 512.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 513.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 512.
30. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, 1653-1708, Tr. Irwin, 4 volumes, London, II, p. 186.
31. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 432-437.
32. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India; Tr. from the Dutch by Moreland & Geyl; W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1925. p. 48.
33. Foster, William, Early Travels in India, 1583-1619; Humphrey Milford, London, 1921, p. 299.
34. Fryer, p. 295.
35. Things Indian; p. 282; Jayasi, Malik Mohammad, Jayasi Granthavali, 2(10) 10; Shirreff, p. 28, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1944 :

    पानी देहिं खंडवानी कुर्वाहिं खांड बहु मेलि ।
    लागी घर रहट कै सीचहिं अमृत 'बेलि' ।।

    मुहमद जीवन जल भरन, रहट-घरी के रीति ।
    घरी जो आई ज्यों भरी, ढरी, जनम गाबीति ।
    Ibid., 2 (18) 10, p. 14; Shirreff, p. 33.

36. घटती बढ़ती सम्पति, सुमति, गति अरहट की जोय ।
    रीति घटिका भरति है, भरी सो रीति होय ।
    Varinda, Satsai, 123.
37. चलहिं रहट सींचहि बनवारी
    Puhakara, Rasratna, 92, p. 140.

    रहट फेरि गुनघरी बनाई । बांधी एक डोरि सब लाई ।
    Ibid., 93, p. 140.
    सीधी एक एक विपरीति । एक भरी इक आवहिं रीति ।
    Ibid., p. 94.
    अंखियां रहट कुंभ जिमि चाहीं । भरि भरि आवै ढरि ढरि जांही ।
    Ibid., 185, p. 102.
38. Foster, Early Travels, p. 299.

39. Ovington, John, A Voyage to Surat, 1689; London, J. Tonson, 1696. Reprinted in India. p. 209.

40. Pelsaert, Jahāngir's India, p. 77.

41. Baldaeus, Philip : *op. cit.*, Churchill's Collections, III, p. 597; Manrique, I, p. 78 ff.

42. Manrique, Fray Sebastian : Travels of Fray S. Manrique (1629-1643), Hakl Society, Oxford, 1927, I, p. 78; Churchill's Collections, III, p. 597.

43. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Text, I, p. 55; Blochmann; Jerret, II, II, pp. 120-121.

43-a. Terry, Edward, p. 364.

44. Mundy, Peter, II, pp. 230-231; Tavernier, op. *cit.*, Wheeler, p. 155.

45. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, Wheeler, p. 155.

46. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla.

47. वृषभान कुमारी मुरारि की ओर, विलोचन कीरनि सों चितवै ।
चलिवै को घरे न करे मन नैक, घड़ै फिरि फिरि भरै रितवै ।।
Tosh : Bhāv Vilas, 109.

48. Pyrard, Francois : The Travels of Francois Pyrard of Laval. Tr. & edit. Grey; Hak. Soc., 1887-90, 2 Vols., II, pp. 73-74.

49. *Ibid.*, I, p. 410.

50. *Ibid.*, I, p. 378.

51. Della Valle, Pietro, p. 43.

52. Churchill, Collection of Voyages & Travels, I, p. 279.

53. Linschoten, Huyghen Von : Voyages into the East and West Indies; Haklyut Society, London. He visited Portugese India in 1583, I, p. 226. (2 volumes).

54. Churchill, Collections of Voyages & Travels, II, 221.

55. Mundy, Peter, II, p. 77.

56. Ain, Blochmann, I, pp. 55-56.

57. Pyrard.

58. Wheeler, J.T.; English Settlements in India, p. 37.

59. Manucci, II, p. 439.

60. Akhbarat, 12.11.1706.

61. Padmavat, ed. V.S. Agarwal, p. 577.

62. Terry, Edward, p. 365.

63. Gang Kabitt, 15.

64. Thevenot, pp. 23; 91.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 136; Fryer, pp. 295-296.

66. Ovington, p. 259.

67. Parmanand Das, 113; 618; Kumbhan Das, p. 175; Bihari Ratnakar, 132.
68. Linschoten, I, p. 301.
69. Ain, Text, p. 45.
70. Hamilton, Alexander, I, p. 389.
71. Varinda Satsai, 577.

MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE JODHPUR STATE

C. 1556 to 1707 A.D.

Dr. Ravindra Kumar Sharma

The western part of Rajasthan, the land of legendary Rathor Rajputs, generally known as Marwar, was bounded on the north by Bikaner, on the north-east by Shaikhawati, on the east by Jaipur, Kishangarh and Ajmer, on the south-east by Ajmer-Merwara and Udaipur on the south by Sirohi and Palanpur, on the south-west by the Rann of Cutch and Pakistan, on the west by Thar-Parkar and Sindh (Pakistan) and on the north-west by Jaisalmer. Before 1947, it lies between lattitude 24′ 36′ and 27′ 42′ N. and longitude 70′ 6′ and 75′ 24′ E. Its greatest length from north-east to south-west was 320 miles and the breadth from north to south was 170 miles and it covers an area of 36,071 sq. miles.[1] The state and his army was first founded by *rao* Siha, who built a citadel for himself on the bank of the river Kali, which is yet known as *"Siha rao-ka-kheda"*. From military point of view *rao* Jodha was one of the most noteworthy successors of *rao* Siha, whom we can regard as the most successful initiator of the medieval school of war technology in the Jodhpur state, which was followed by his successor can be studied under the following heads :

Army :

Out of the traditional four divisions of the infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and chariot, the last seemed to have fallen in disuse for the purposes of war during the period under reference and consequently again the army of Jodhpur state consisted of mainly five divisions—infantry, cavalry, elephant, camel corps and artillery which was must for their contemporary requirements. In emergencies, local levy were also enrolled and contigents of the nobles known as *rao, roa-raja, bhomiya, maharaja, thakur, jagirdar,* etc. also utilised.

Recruitment :

It can be said after studying the military records of the Jodhpur state preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives that every Rajput was considered to be a soldier in the state as soon as he was able to hold a sword or musket.[2] State and *jagirs* recruited their own army at their own headquarters. It is with the advent of the military reforms of *rao* Maldeo that we find greater centralization of the army recruitments.[3] Any one who wanted to join the army, had to apply to the recruitment *daftar* through the office of the *bakhshi* who prepared the statement and presented it to the *maharaja* for acceptance. This statement was known as *chehra* and preserved permanently in a *bahi* known as *haqiqat bahi* contained the full details about the applicant. After the approval of the particulars, the candidate had to appear before the recruitment centre for required formalities and then only, he was officially appointed in the army.[4] Most of the appointments were made in the lower grades. The ruler usually acted on the recommendation of the *bakhshi,* the *jagirdars* of the various *jagirs* the leaders of military expeditions, and high officials of court when an appointment was first announced, usually the rank and the salary of the new entrant alone were stated. The actual work to be entrusted to him was decided later on.[5]

Pay :

The *jagirdars* were given *jagirs* in lieu of their military services.[6] Sometimes they were paid partly in *jagir* and partly in cash. Petty officials were also paid in cash. The state helped its officials in times of need as well. The Rathors seem to have been more than generous to their *jagirdars.*[7] The officers lived magnificiently but the officer or the *jagirdar* in the army was fined also, if he did not produce the same kind of horses that were mentioned in his *chehra.* He was also fined for non-production of horses, delay in producing horses for branding and verification, going without leave, for not returning within the due time. These fines were known as *zurmana, tafawat, duno,* etc. The amount was deducted from the pay. The system of horse loan, pension benefits were also in practice, but for important persons only.[8] Of course, when a prominent *jagirdar* retired from the active military service, we hear sometimes of his being granted a peace of land for *guzara* or being granted a piece of land as *Muafi.*[9] During the life time of *maharaja* Jaswant Singh the pay scales were attractive enough to keep officers and soldiers contented and beyond pecuniary temptations.

Honours, Rewards and Distinctions :

Various types of honours were conferred on the military officers. Ornaments of various descriptions were given, swords and daggers with costly handles were awarded. Several types of means of conveyance — palkis, horses, elephants with rich trapping, kettle-drums and the permission to play them were also granted under certain conditions.[10] Money grants were also frequently made.[11].

The system of entitlature was based on medieval customs, *rao, raoraja, maharaja, thakur, rajvi, sahib bahadur, mukhtiyar, hakim* were the main title in use on the day of *Desherah* robes of honour were given to every *jagirdars* presented at *darbar*.[12] Occasionally, the rulers of Jodhpur conferred honourable titles to the distinguished *thakurs* for their meritorious military services rendered to the cause of Jodhpur. In the *haqikat bahi* and the *hath bahi* of Jodhpur, we find twelve distinctions, of which the first six were reserved exclusively for the state *jagirdars*. The use of the others might, we must assume, be granted to subjects. The twelve distinctions were -(i) Flag, (ii) *pagri* (iii) *ekevri tazim,* (iv) *hath-ka kurab,* (v) *bav pasav,* (vi) *sirayat,* (vii) *dohari tazim,* (viii) *khargbandi,* (ix) *siropav,* (x) *hath-ka-siropav,* (xi) *Palki-ka-siropav* (xii) *sarpech,* etc.[13]

Discipline and Drill :

There were no regular daily drills to keep the soldiers in peace time upto the mark. But when a *jagirdar* presented at the capital or was in the fort camp, he took his turn for a week's duty, which was known as *thikri pehrah*. He also paraded his troops for review under the *jharokha-darshan*. The playing of *chaugan,* also kept the horses active. Occasionally there have been regular or irregular marches in the garrison towns or in the country round about, as was the custom during the time of *maharaja* Jaswant Singh. The *sikargah*, where the *maharaja* kept from five to eight hundred soldiers engaged may be considered a means of keeping soldiers upto the mark. The march of the soldiers in attendance upon the *maharaja* travelling for peaceful or military purposes also served to keep the soldiers alert.[14].

Military Personnel :

Maharaja was the highest officer, after him was the *diwan, bakhshi, daroga-i-selehkhana, pheelkhana, baroodkhana, topkhana, shutarkhana, nakkarkhana, kotwal, kiladar, faujdar,* and were highly paid and were having the right of access to the *maharaja*.

The *diwan* was next to the ruler in the administrative machinery. In the military annals of Jodhpur the *diwans* were proved successful military commanders as well.[15] After *diwan* came the *bakhshi*. The rulers of Jodhpur never appointed a *senapati* to be incharge of their entire army. *The bakhshi* was the chief military adviser. He also worked as the Inspector-General of the *jagirdar's* contingents and their paymaster, holding annual reviews of troops and troopers.

He was the nerve centre of the military administration. All the news-writers outside the capital were his agents. The horses were branded under his supervisions. He kept descriptive roll of soldiers, horses, camels, elephants, and oxen in the state forces. The chief *bakhshi* was assisted by two associate *bakhshi*, one was *tan bakhshi* and the other was *desh-ka-bakhshi*. The *bakhshi*, who was appointed in the fort was known as *bakhshi-i-kila* or *bayad bakhshi* and the *bakhshi of pargana* was known as *piyad bakhshi*. This is interesting to note here, that like diwan, a person of non-militant class was normally appointed to this post.[16] Next come the *Daroga-i-selehkhana* who was the incharge of armoury. Likewise other department were also headed by a *daroga*. *Kotwal* was the incharge of a city and *Kiladar* was a fort-garrison master. *Faujdar* was incharge of a *pargana*. *Wakianavis* were appointed by the *maharaja* through the *bakhshi*.[17]

Infantry, Cavalry, Elephant & Camel Corps :

The infantry formed a miscellaneous unit. It included swordmen and *bhalabardar* among the combatant services, and spies, guards, porters, sappirs and carpenters, water carriers and camp followers of various kinds among the non-combatants. Later on musketeers were also employed.[18]

The rulers of Jodhpur began to pay more attention to this branch because they saw the Mughal tactics using cavalry and their excellence on horseback. They soon realized, that a fast-moving cavalry was very useful in sudden attacks on the enemy. *Jodhpuri* horse were famous for their swiftness and power. Following were famous horses of the Jodhpur army : *Gajturang, Fattey, Pukh Raj, Surajpasav, Arjan, Kanak Kalash, Yudha Singar, Madanmurat*, etc. The wages of a *sawar* depended upon the kind of horse he rode.[19]

The elephant corps was one of the most prominent wings of the army. Elephant were used for two co-related operations of the army in the actual warfare, and to carry supply (food and armaments) from one place to another. The heavy cannons could only be taken to the battlefield by elephants and, therefore, these cannon were known a *gajnal, hathnal*, or sometime *chhatnal*.[20] The elephants of war were provided with armour, girth, blankets, neckropes and bells, hooks and quivers, banners, and stones hurling contrivances and lances. Following were the history famous elephants of Jodhpur : *Dariyao, Jodh, Jagannath, Ganesh, Lekh Sunder, Murat Singar, Pukh Raj, Mam Raj, Gaj Tilak, Madhukar, Junak Rao, Fauj Singar, Bhaktawar, Sukhvidan, Hatni Rangeli, Hathni Sahib, Harni, Rama, Gajapuran, Manglo, Net Singar*, etc.[110] Towards the end of Jaswant Singh's reign, there were 2008 elephants in the stables of the state.[21]

The camel is very useful in the deserts of Rajasthan. It was also a geographical requirement of this desert state. During the expeditions of Maldeo the ardent necessity of camel corps were felt particularly during his Bikaner and Jaisalmer expeditions.[22] It was for this reason that Rathor rulers of the Jodhpur always gave maximum importance to the camel corps. This *mahakma* was known as *shutarkhana*. Every camel was loaded with two guns. The camels were also put on transport as well as military duties.[23] During an expeditions camel riders were also provided with banners, kattle drums and loaded with the gun-power bags.

Arms, Armoury and Artillery :

The *jodhpuri* arms and armouri were famous for its striking power.[24] The army seem to have carried a great variety of arms. The arms of Jodhpur may be divided into three categories - (i) Swords and shield, (ii) maces, battle-axe, spears, daggers, (iii) the *kaman, ban*, and *banduq*. During medieval period they used some peculiar arms which were known as *sirohi-ki-nipni, manashahi, ramshahi, jezah, sainthi, ballam, panchmukhi, katar, katari, jamdhag, khanjar, peshgabza, tegha, tir, tukka, banduq, jazail, ghordaham, sherbachah, damaka, ghabarah, deg, gaznal, hathnal, rehkalah, organ, kisanwa, ramban*, and *firangi-tamancha*. This is relevant to note here that there was a separate department of arms, ammunitions and armoury known as *mahakma selehkhana*. During the period under reference, it reveals from the records of Jodhpur, that there was a regular and constant production of armaments in Jodhpur state.[25]

Forts Fortification and the Siege Craft :

In the different military centres of Jodhpur state strong forts were built by the rulers, mainly on strategic points and were well watched and garrisoned probably under senior military officers. The strongest of them all was the renowned fort of Jodhpur. Next in importance was the famous fort of Nagaur followed by the fort of

Jalore, Siwana, Sambhar, Neemaj, Auwa, Bagri, Khivsar, Asop, Pokran and Merta. Every fort also had a *kiladar* and a number of junior officers. The main cities were also protected by the solid city walls known as *shahar panah*. The state army was very much familiar with the siege craft of that age and in constructions of *'sabat' 'gargaj' 'pashib'* and bastions which were the common feature of the medieval siege craft.[26]

The Intelligence Service, Banners and War Music :

From the very beginning, the rulers of Jodhpur State had organised an elaborate and efficient system of intelligence and espionage. The spys were generally put on military duties in war areas. After recruitment, the secret agents were put through a rigorous training in the techniques of adopting disguises, changing appearances, science of signalling, secret writing, detection and identification of criminals, manipulating public opinion and dissensions in the enemy ranks.[27]

It was a common practice to use state flag ensigned *"Ran Banka Rathor"* or *"Jai Mata Ji"* in the war against state enemies.[28] War music was also very popular. During the period under reference, *nafiri, turahi, dhol, nad, singha horns, danka, shanai, kori, khartal, banzo, damroo* and *nagara* were the main instrument used by the band-masters of Jodhpur. *Bigul, dhonsha* and *bheri* were also used for the similar purpose.[29]

Camp :

Each contingent seems to have had the shelter of a tent. The kinds of tents were numerous, from the *tambu*, a mere low awning, upto the huge imperial tents. The records of Jodhpur state reveal that there were fifteen different kinds of tents.[155] Popular among them were, *lal tambu, shahi tambu, shamiyana. shamah, kanat, tambu, kargah, rajvithakarano, khema, sarpardah, peshkhana, derabhar, chandni, chowki, milni, vitan,* etc. This is relevant to note here that *kanat, chowki* and *milini,* were not a tent but an enclosure only. Some of the tents were of an enormous size. The one such tent are still preserved in the collection of the former *maharaja* of Jodhpur and was displayed in the festival of India, 1985 in the United States of America.[30]

The Military Expeditions :

The maharaja maintained a stable at the capital beside one each at Nagore and Merta. Here were kept horses, elephants, camels, oxen, and mules. Animals meant for the *maharaja's* use were kept apart as *khasa* or *darbari.*[31] All the commanders of *jagiri fauj* present at the capital or in the military camp or in the *darbar* then were given leave to proceed to their task. Necessary pieces of artillery and the elephants needed for service were either allotted from the *maharaja* park and the stables or orders were given to the *kiladar/* authorities to supply these from the stock at their disposal. For their baggage and camp equipment the *jagirdars,* helped by the local authorities, made their own transport arrangements as best as they could. The provisions for the *jagirdars* and soldiers were provided by the *banjaras* who followed the army. The Central Asian expeditions and the Deccan operations of *maharaja* Jaswant Singh illustrated the weakness of Rajput military operations very well. Usually, the expeditions started at a lucky movement selected by *jyotishis* or *purohits* of the state. The army usually marched by easy stages. *Maharaja* Jaswant Singh would sometimes cover long distance in a very short period. His Kabul expeditions suported this view. His Deccan expedition covered 1580 iles in twenty days.[32]

Army Formation :

During pre *Akbari* era, it was usual to divide an army into three divisions, called vanguard or *harwal,* skirmishers and cavalry. The three wings always marched in this order and normally deployed for battle with the main battle, the most honourable command and usually led by the *maharaja* or his deputy, in the centre; the vanguard on the right as the second most honourable command, and the rearward battle better known as *chandawal* on the left. Where there was insufficient room for movements. After 1650, the order of battle was changed and roughly speaking as follows. First came skirmishers. Next was placed the artillery in a time, protected by *barood-banwala.* Behind the guns stood the advanced guard; a little behind it were the right and left wings. Then at some distance, was the centre where stood the *maharaja* on his elephant or horse. Almost all the battle of Jodhpur invariably conducted by the *maharajas* of the times in person. The fighting capacity of the soldiers of the Jodhpur state was unchallenged and during the entire period of our study they remained famous for their bravery, dash and gallantry and were known as "Ran Banka Rathore".

Observation :

After the advent of the Mughal in Rajasthan the Mughal system of warfare was initiated by the rulers of Jodhpur.[33] We can regard *maharaja* Udai Singh, Sur Singh and Jaswant Singh as the most successful initiators of the medieval war technology in the Jodhpur state. The superiority of this new school proved by the great successes of the rulers of Jodhpur from Kabul to Gujrat and as far as Bijapur and Ahamad Nagar in the Deccan. But one should not forget that though the military system of Jodhpur had an influence of the Mughal military system, yet it was different from the later to some extent though the designation and official works were similar to the Mughal military system but their functions were quite different. It is clear from the records of the Mughal as well as Jodhpur state that the two military organizations were quite different to each other. The Mughal military system was based on *mansabdari* system whereas the military system of the Jodhpur state was based on heredity, called the *jagirdari* system which remained in force upto 1947. Let us take a glance into the process of deterioration of military power of Jodhpur during the later part of the seventeenth century and so on.

After the death of *maharaja* Ajit Singh and Abhay Singh in 1724 and 1749 respectively the affairs of the kingdom of Jodhpur fell into less competent and weak hands. The court factions now came into foul play and created an atmosphere of intrigues and counter-intrigues. Political stability was the worst victim and in less than twenty years there were as many as five changes of government, three of which were accompanied by violence and blood-shed. Under such conditions the army could not remain unaffected. Its support was sought by rival parties and it played a leading role in the various revolutions which occurred during this period. This affected its pay, discipline, organisation, control, command and composition. Taking advantage of such weaknesses the Marathas and Pindaris overrun the various part of the Jodhpur state and consequently *maharaja* became a puppet in their hand.

It is needless to say that their enemies always attempted to exploit the dissention and disunion of the Rathor *jagirdars*. A military system cannot survive its military weaknesses long. Therefore, the military interest of Jodhpur suffered. During this period, there was a definite advance in the matter of equipping the army with better weapons. We also find certain improvements in the arrangements for the manufacture of ammunition. The constitution of the army of Jodhpur also underwent some far-reaching changes during this period. The advent of Mughals particularly Akbar was responsible for improvement in the art of founding guns.

The new system of supplies evolved during the wars was further elaborated in 1556-1707. The number of stores, arsenals and magazines was considerably enlarged during this period.

But inspite of all this progress a number of serious shortcomings still remained, namely (i) irregularity of payment which greatly hampered discipline; (ii) Lukewarm attitude of the *jagirdars* towards the new mode of training; (iii) discontent among officers on account of the mercenaries being given higher salaries and more importane; (iv) disaffection created by disparity in the rates of pay for the officers of the same rank; (v) rivalry among the *jagirdars*.

Thus, in general, military leadership of the Jodhpur army towards the close of the region of Ajit Singh was in the hands of selfish, corrupt and treacherous aristocracy, with inferior and outdated weapons. There was, certainly no dearth of brave and hardly warriors, but their equipment had become cumbersome The army of Jodhpur suffered from the chronic disease of ill-fated *jagirdari* organization. If in early days the swift rise of the Jodhpur army was due to their strong *jagir* army, their spectacular fall in the later Mughal era can be traced to their inefficient *jagir* organization. Therefore, the rulers of Jodhpur requested the Marathas to the task of settling the factional rivalries of their *jagirdars*, which unfortunately proved suicidal and the peace of Jodhpur disturb.

REFERENCES

1. Administrative Report 1947, Government of Jodhpur State, Jodhpur, 1946, pp. 3-5.
2. Jagir Misal Fauj Jodhpur State, V.S. 1810, Rajasthan State Archives, Branch Jodhpur, Record No. 3348/1810. Henceforth, RSA Jodhpur.
3. Kagzat Bakshikhana, Bahi No. 8, Jodhpur Ka Abhilekh; pargana Record Piaz Bakhshi 1884 A.D. File No. 1132, RSA Bikaner.
4. Haqikat Bahi No. 29, 33, Residency Agency Office, RSA Jodhpur.
5. Haqikat Bahi No. 52, pp. 76-79; Audha Bahi No. 3, V.S. 1787, pp. 9-16; Bahi Fauj Jodhpur V.S. 1788, pp. 1-38. RSA Bikaner.
6. Bahi Daftar Bakhshikhana, V.S. 1768, pp. 6-18; V.S. 1878, pp. 38-63; V.S. 1888, pp. 1-9, 31-66. RSA Bikaner.
7. Khas Rukha Parwana Bahi No. 9, p. 28; Sanad Bahi No. 156, pp. 18-19;

Haqikat Bahi, No. 28, V.S. 1818, pp. 23-38; Misal Jagir Jodhpur, V.S. 1878, pp. 38-63-67, 56-85, 103; compare the couplet "Kurab Sir satay milta hain, dam satay nahin" means an honour (Jagir) was reserved for noble sacrifices (military services) and was not to be granted in lieu of money payment (can not be purchased) also see Hardayal, Tawarikh Jagirdaran Raj Marwar, Jodhpur, 1893, p.4.

8. Haqikat Bahi No. 27, pp. 620-621; Audha Bahi No. 3, V.S. 1789, pp. 33-34; Bahi Bakhshikhana V.S. 1818, pp. 131-45; Fauj Kilajat Jodhpur, V.S. 1803; Bahi Fauj Ki, pp. 13-18. Merta Thane-re-Bahi V.S. 1781, pp. 1-9, 35-49, 103-8; Jalore Thane-re-Bahi V.S. 1807, pp. 35, 38, 39-41, 43-57, RSA Bikaner.

9. Tankha-re-Kagzata-re-Bahi, V.S. 1835, pp. 65-89; Patta Bahi No. 18 V.S. 1803; Bahi Bakhshikhana, V.S. 1804; Jalore Kanvensara-re-Bahi V.S. 838, pp. 3-17; File No. 31 jagir Masal Jodhpur V.S. 1889, pp. 6-9; Patta Bahi, No. 37, V.S. 1793, RSA Jodhpur.

10. Bahi Merta Thane re, No. 3, V.S. 1716, pp. 36-78, 79, 84-89, 136-72; Fauj Bahi Jodhpur, V.S. 1778;

11. Bahi Bakhshikhana Abhay Singh V.S. 1787, pp. 3-28, tafsil Karja (for Gujrat expedition); Kumpawat Maheshdasot Kantalia-re-Khyat, pp. 59, 68-70. Haqikat Bahi No. 41, pp. 28-29, 98-105, 385-87; Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No. 9, pp. 8-16, 17-23; Sanad Bahi No. 103, pp. 103-8; RSA Bikaner; Hardayal Singh, Munshi, Majmuce Halat wa Intjam Raj Marwar, 1883-84, Lithocopy, Jodhpur, 1884, pp. 360-68; compare couplet "Riya Kharwa Raipur Auwa Aasopi Bagri Kananon Khivsar Aathon Vishal Anop".

12. Haqikt Bahi No. 27, pp. 618-623; Haqikat Khata Register No. 70, pp. 18-21. Usually, the Maharaja held six festive durbars in a year viz. Akha Teej, Dushera, Depali, Holi, Rakhsha-Bandan and on his own birthday. See Haqikat Bahi No. 44, p. 324; Haqikat Bahi No. 49, pp. 141-42; RSA Bikaner.

13. Hath Bahi No. 5, p.9; Haqikat Bahi No. 8, p. 478; Haqikat Bahi No. 59, p.24; Khas Rukha Parwana Bahi No. 9, p.28; Kumpawat Mahesdasot Kantalia-re-khyat, pp 59, 68-69; Karmsoton-re-khyat, Basta No. 40, Book No. 37, p. 244. RSA Bikaner.

14. Haqikat Bahi No. 43, pp. 55, 147, 150-165, 223, 224-31. RSA Bikaner; Hardayal Singh, First Administrative Report of Jodhpur, Jodhpur State Publication, Jodhpur, 1883-1884; p. 75 also Compare Gaj Singh's camping activities at Thana Sadri See Amal-i-Saleh, Persian Text, p. 72; Lahori Abdul Hamid., Badshahnama, Parsian Text, I, pp. 171-172-173; Jodhpur-re-Khyat,R.O.R.I Udaipur's Text, Vol. I, p. 128. See Maharaja Jaswant Singh's march towards Kabul enroute to Nagore, Rewari, Delhi, Samalkha, Panipat, Karnal, Kurukshetra, Rajpura, Lahore, Multan, Peshawar, Hasan Abdal, and finally Kabul also routes of Jaswant Singh's retreat from Ujjain to Jodhpur and route of retreat of his army from Jamrud to Delhi and the lists of the soldiers and nobles who were deputed under the command of Jaswant Singh by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan Brij Ratan Das, Pancholy-ki-khyat, Ms. Khivsar copy, ff. 6A-12-A, 30A-30B, ff. 153(A)-172(B).

15. Compare military success of Dewan Mehta Nansi and Sunder Si see,

Jodhpur Rajya ki Khyat, R.O.R.I. Jodhpur, Vol. I, pp. 250-51.

16. The Bakhshigiri was almost hereditary. According to Col. Sutherland, there were apparently two or three classes of ministers, who alternatley succeeded to the office of the Bakhshi, see. A Letter from Col. Sutherland to Wadlock dated Oct. 20, 1839, Foregin Political consultations, Feb. 24,1840, No. 34 (Para 16) NAI, New Delhi. This is relevant to note here that oftenly Singhvi or Bhandari gharana hold this post or sometime a suitable bania with the knowledge of military administration and skill was chosen. Bhim Raj Singhvi, Inder Raj, Fateh Raj and Amar Singh Bhandari were the famous bakhshi of the Jodhpur state.

17. Mundiyar Khyat Bakht Singh, pp. 10-11, Basta No. 20, Jodhpur Abilekh. The famous kiladars of Jodhpur were, Gulraj, Sobhawat Kishri Singh, Fateh Singh, Udai Karan, Nathkaran and Khichi Sunder Das.

18. The rulers of Jodhpur also employed the Marathas mercenaries in their military service. Gopal Trimbak Rao was employed by Abhay singh, on recommendation from Malhar Rao Holkar in February 1747, on a yearly salary of rupees four hundred see, Phalke, Anand Rao, Shindheshahi Itihassanchi Sadhane, Vol. I, pp. 6, 17, 48, 151; Vol. II, pp. 41,122). This is relevant to note here that sometimes deserters from the forces of the Marathas secured jobs in the Rathore army. The infantry of Hira Singh who was formerly in the service of Sriji Rao Ghatka, was employed by maharaja Man Singh in the year 1808. A Letter from maharaja Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 3rd day of the bright-half of the Bhadrapada V.S. 1865 Arzee Bahi No. 5, p. 10, Jodhpur Abhilekh, RSA Bikaner.

19. The city of Nadol was known as mines of horses, besides this horses were purchased from Kabul, Kandhar, Herat, Khurasan, Uzbekistan, Arbs, Sindh, Makran, Gujrat, Katch and Punjab. See cuplet

"Hurmajji kachi mukrani that
Khandhar Herrabi Khursani
Arabbi rumi Ujbakka
Samhadi sambar kandakka
Badkkssi Kabil rohai ....
Multana Sindhu Thattai ....
Lohari Hansi Hinsari ....
Ajmera .... "see, Gadan, Keshodas,

Gajgunrupak-Bandha, Rajasthani Text, Ms. No. 99, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, pp. 179-80.

20. Gajnal and Hathnal — The words mean literally "elephant barrel" or the cannon which transported by elephant. They are mentioned by Abul Fazl, See, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, Persian Text, p. 113; Irvine is of the opinion that "they were carried on elephants back" therefore, known as gajnal. See Irvine, William, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, Delhi, 1971, p. 135; But we have definite information that gajnals or hathnals could not be taken on elephants back upto the battlefield as they were too heavy to put by a single elephant. It may be stated here that only Shippa or small cannon could be placed on the elephant back for transport only and dismounted before it was discharged. Heavy cannons were transported and pulled by elephatns that's why they were known as gajnal, hathnal or even gajnalika.

Chhatnal — The word mean literally barrel mounted on roof top or on the boundry wall, moatwall, fortwall and also on city walls. Few Chhatnals are still displayed on the fortwall of the fort of Jodhpur by the maharaja Gaj Singh II of Jodhpur.

21. Bahi Pheelkhana Jodhpur V.S. 1763. RSA Bikaner.

22. Compare Bikaner and Jaisalmer expeditions of Rao Maldeo, Marwar-ki-khyat, Vol. I, Tafsil Maldeo, Vol. I, pp. 73-74.

23. Compare Triumph of Jodhpur camel risala over Jaisalmer, Bikaner and also in the Balkh expeditions. Bhatt, Jagjiwan, Ajitodaya Sanskrit, Ms. No. 41, Pustak Prakash Library, Jodhpur, VV. 24 FF. 35-36.

24. See couplet, "pag pag necha gadiya
pag pag gadhi dhal
Bibi puchen khan ne
Jag keta Jagmal."

Badar, Daddhi., Virmayan, Rajasthani Text V.V. 1-11 ft. 21-31, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.

25. Bahi Fauj Kilajat Jodhpur V.S. 1879, RSA Bikaner.

26. See following documents :

(i) Patra No. 33 Mohar RSA Bikaner
Seal

"Shree hazur samvat 1774 ukradey ki garhi Chogh
Singh Kilaranot ko ....
Kot hatayo so tikee bheeta lak reha gayai
Ar huzur ko bulavo ayon ....
So ratya rat kam zari rakhya ro izaro diyon ....
tira divaya 32, ban nisani ....
Sonisani bandhi ....
gaj ka man 2 mu 211 dar man 2 ka
311 mu diyan ....
Kot dhala bhit beldar mathey gir pari
tayane chout acen tinka diyan 2 sudi 4 ne tekri uppar
morcha bandha tika diya Sai ka diya.........."

another document is also reveal the same feature of siege-craft technology.

Patra No. 28 Document No. II RSA Bikaner
Mohar
Seal

"Siyah khazana Badava sudi 10 samvat 1784
Shree Huzur .... Pavanta ki gari Hari Singh
Kilaranot kila radhi hueen ....
Morcha bandhi kareen ....
Morcha bandhya ....
So sivaya beldar suka sukka sai kam
Karayon tayane raj ka rupeea diyan
173 .... " Also

see, the letter of *maharaja* Abhya Singh, dated 12th day of the bright half of Kartik Vikram Samvat 1787; A letter of Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bandari dated 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra V.S. 1787, RSA Bikaner.

27. Siyah-i-Khazana Ke Abhilekh V.S. 1789 No. 3,5,6, RSA Bikaner.

28. Havala Bahi No. 3, pp.8-11, Jodhpur Abhilekh, RSA Bikaner; Noteworthy insignia are China 1900, Panchmark flag of Afghan war, Kaiser-i-Hind insignia, Ummed museum flag section, Chhittar Palace, Jodhpur.

29. Sardar Risala Military Band File No. 1, m, Basta No. 2, RSA Bikaner.

30. For a brief description of the tent please see Historical Tent of Jodhpur, Times of India, New Delhi, P.4,1 December, 1985.

31. Keshav das, Gaj Gunrupak Bandha, Rajasthani Text No. 99, pp. 20-22, 27, 146-157, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.

32. Compare, Nagar, Ishwardas, Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri, Persian Text, Rotogarh No. 42 (A.M.U) pp. 66(A)-69(B) 70(A)-71(B); Jaittan, Barhat, Jaitdan-ki-Khyat, (Ms.) RSA Bikaner, pp. 58-61.

33. Bhati, Govinddas, The Pradhan of maharaja Sur Singh, organised the military system of the Jodhpur State on the medieval pattern which was highly influenced by the Mughal system. Hereafter, the designations of the old state officials, such as pradhan, senapati, nayak, pandit, purohit, mahadannayaka, dandnayak, etc. were changed and the new officials came to be known as diwan, bakhshi, hakim, kiledar, kotwal, daroga, silehdar, piyad-bakshi, and munshi.

A Glossary of Several Local Important Rajasthani Language words which I used in my Research Paper under reference are as under :

GLOSSARY

Rao	:	Ruler; Chief; A title
Kheda	:	Fort; Capital; Founded by
Maharaja	:	Title of the ruler of Jodhpur
Thakur	:	Chief of a Fief
Jagirdar	:	Fedual lord, Incharge of a district
Jagir	:	A Fief
Daftar	:	Office, Unit
Chehra	:	Face; Indentification; Record
Bahi	:	Ledger; Record Book
Bakshi	:	Pay-master of the troops; Commander
Haqikat Bahi	:	Ledger of events; Record Book
Zurmana	:	Fine; Punishment
Tafawat	:	A Tax; Fine
Duno	:	A tax, dubble duty, tax
Guzara	:	Livelihood; Salary; A kind of reward
Maufi	:	Exemption, Provide; Allotment
Fauj Bahi	:	Army Record Register; Ledger
Palki	:	Palanquin
Rajvi	:	Relative of the Maharaja; Younger brother of the ruler; A cast
Sahibbahadur	:	Honourable Sir; Brave; Respected Person
Mukhtiyar	:	Revenue Officer, Land Owner
Hakim	:	Judicial Officer, Incharge of a Pargana
Pagri	:	Turban

Hath Bahi	:	Hand written ledger; Official ledger
Ekvari Tazim	:	A kind of Privilege bestowed by the rulers of Jodhpur
Hath-ka-Kurab	:	Reward; A kind of privilege bestowed by the rulers of Jodhpur
Bav Pasav	:	A kind of Reward
Sirayat	:	A kind of Reward
Dohari Tazim	:	A kind of special honour
Khargbandi	:	Coronation Ceremony; By sword; Presentation of the sword at the time of coronation
Siropav	:	Special robe of honour
Hath-ka-Siropav	:	A kind of Reward
Palki-ka-Siropav	:	A kind of honour
Sarpech	:	The Jewel of Turban
Thikri pehrah	:	Round the clock duty; Duty by turn
Jharokha-darshan	:	Appearance; Morning Court; First Appearance
Chaugan	:	Polo
Sikargah	:	Hunting Ground
Diwan	:	The head of the Finance Department
Bakhshi	:	Commander-in-chief, Pay Master
Daroga-i-Selehkhana	:	Incharge of the Armoury
Pheelkhana	:	Elephant Corps; Stable, department of Elephant
Baroodkhana	:	Gun-foundry
Topkhana	:	Artillery
Shutarkhana	:	Camel Corps Unit Office
Nakkarkhana	:	Kettle drums Department
Kotwal	:	Fort Garrison Master
Kiladar	:	Commandant of the Fort
Faujdar	:	District Officer
Pargana	:	District
Tan-Bakhshi	:	Pay Master General
Desh-ka-Bakhshi	:	Commander of the Forces
Bayad Bakhshi	:	Bakhshi of a Province
Bakhshi-i-Kila	:	Bakhshi of a Fort
Piyad Bakhshi	:	Bakhshi on Special duty
Bhalabardar	:	Arm guard; Lance bearers
Sawar	:	Tropper
Gajnal	:	Elephant barrel-gun
Hathnal	:	Elephant barrel-gun
Chhatnal	:	Gun mounted on roof top of the fort wall
Mahakma	:	Office
Shutarkhana	:	Department of Camel Corps
Ran Banka Rathor	:	Matchless (Bravery of Rathor) in the battlefield
Kotpal	:	Commandant of a Fort
Harawal	:	Vanguard
Jai Mata Ji	:	Slogan of the Jodhpur Army; In the honour of goddess Durga
Nafiri	:	A pointed flute
Tafsil	:	Narration, cronology
Durgpal	:	Fort-garrison Master
Kotpal	:	Commandant of Fort
Siyah Khazana	:	Confidential Document

Siyahnamah	:	Confidential Document
Mal Khana	:	Revenue Department
Mohar	:	Seal, Stamp; Royal mark
Marwar-id-khyat	:	Bardic History of Jodhpur
Tan-Bakhshi	:	Pay Master General
Desh-ka-Bakhshi	:	Commander of the Forces
Bayad Bakhshi	:	Bakhshi of a Province
Bakhshi-i-Kila	:	Bakhshi of a fort
Piyad Bakhshi	:	Bakhshi on special duty
Daroga-i-Selehkhana	:	Incharge of the Armoury
Daroga-i-Pheelkhana	:	Incharge of the Elephant Corps
Darpga-i-Dakchoki	:	Incharge of the Post Office
Dakkhana	:	Post Office
Daroga Khana	:	Office of the Superintendent-in-Chief
Bhalabardar	:	Arm Guard; Lance bearers
Sawar	:	Tropper
Gajnal	:	Elephant barrel-gun
Hathnal	:	Elephant barrel-gun
Chhatnal	:	Gun mounted on roof top of the fort wall
Mahakma	:	Office
Shutarkhana	:	Department of Camel Corps
Risala	:	Cavalry
Khyat	:	History
Marwar-ki-khyat	:	History of Marwar
Rajputana	:	Land of the Rajputs—A Province
Kaman	:	Bow
Ban	:	Arrow
Sirohi-ki-Nipni	:	Sword of Sirohi
Manashahi	:	Sword of Man Singh
Ramshahi	:	Sword of Ram Singh
Jezah	:	Lance
Sainthi	:	Sword
Ballam	:	A kind of Lance
Panchmukhi	:	A kind of sword
Vitan	:	Velvet tent
Khasa	:	Special Tent
Darbari	:	Tent used by the Courteers
Garh	:	Fort; Fortified Palace
Jagiri Fauj	:	Fief Army
Darbar	:	Court; Monarch
Jyotishi	:	Astrologer
Chandawal	:	Rear guard
Barood-banwala	:	Rocket thrower
Misal	:	File
Pargana	:	District
Audha Bahi	:	Officers Record Ledger containing Official letters and informations
Daftar	:	Office
Rukka	:	Letter
Kilajat	:	Fort; Garrison
Thana	:	Police Office; Superintendent Office, Administrative Headquarter

Tankha	: Pay, Salaries
Patta	: Certificate, grant; land grant
Kanvensar	: Land Revenue Ledger
Kheta	: Account Register
Mir Sikar	: Superintendent of Excursion and Hunting Department
Kharita	: Official letter
Hath bahi	: Hand written ledger containing official order, events, news, etc.
Mundiyar-ki-khyat	: History of Jodhpur written by Mundiyar Barhat family
Jama-Kharch	: Income and Expenditure
Basta	: Packet, Bundle, Cloth covered packet
Arzee	: Application
Havala Bahi	: Reference ledger Register, Government of Jodhpur State

SECTION-III

Views and Reviews

A.B. Mukerji	Locational Analysis in Agricultural Geography by J.L. Raina. Pointer Publishers, Jaipur, 1989, pages 146, Bibliography, Index. Price : Rs. 145. 00.
Neena Arora	*Plans for Departure,* Nayantara Sahgal, Heinamann : London, 1986, 216 pp. £. 9.95.

LOCATIONAL ANALYSIS IN AGRICULTURAL GEOGRAPHY by J.L. Raina. Pointer Publishers, Jaipur, 1989, page 146, Bibliography, Index. Price : Rs. 145.00.

A.B. Mukerji

It is an unquestionable fact in the history of geographic thought that the paradigm that has held the longest and most powerful sway on the geographers engaged in describing and explaining patterns created by human beings on earth has been that of environmental determinism. No other paradigm has permeated so deep and so wide through each and every branch of Human Geography. In the early phases of geographical research addressing the question of how to describe and explain the world patterns of human activities, particularly the economic activities, environmental determinism was widely adopted as the most easily constructed and convincing explanatory mode even though the data available was meagre and unreliable. The paradigm became accepted as a roaring success in explaining the macro patterns. Relief, climate, and soil were proposed as the most powerful determinants of agricultural location as raw materials, water, and energy those of industrial activity location. The regularity in the world pattern indeed was a great fascination for early geographers and has continued to be such for some geographers even now. For them environmental determinism was the most promising explanatory system. Disillusionment started dawning on them when they were confronted with the realities of micro-patterns emerging in a context of homogeneities in relief, soil, climate, raw materials, water, and energy. In the late 1930s geography was being considered less and less a study in relationship and more and more an analysis of a real differentiation and landscape. The world patterns had their second reincarnation but their attraction was based on a radical shift in the paradigm of geography. Patterns continued to be and it continues to be the basic concern of geographers. Only that the scale of observation, description, analysis, and explanation changed. It was not as if the geographers planned to apply to the study of the world patterns the knowledge they had acquired from their investigation of meso and micro patterns. The most remarkable shift was the one from spatial differentiation to spatial location which lead to a replacement of the prevailing explanatory mode and set of variables by the variables of distance, technology, land rent, and market, the dominant concepts of economic analysis.

The explanatory portrayal of the agricultural patterns which has been and continues to be the main task of the agricultural geographers underwent a profound change as a positive response to the locational analysis proposed by Von Thunen, Losch, Weber, and Christaller. Von Thunen's model, the most convincing, was immediately applied by the agricultural geographers of the west. The induction of this model into the Indian geographical research scene was very tardy. It was Professor M. Shafi, unquestionably the founder of the studies in Agricultural Geography in India, who first published his research on Von Thunen in the Indian agricultural landscape and drew our attention to the potentialities of its application to the landscape surrounding cities and large towns. Professor Shafi's message was clear and telling : the Indian agricultural geographers must change their paradigm from the crude, wooly environmental determinism of the past to that of locational analysis if their research was to be recognised as worthy of scientific attention. Not many responded to the call of the pioneer. The stranglehold of the earlier paradigm was not easy to break and be freed of. The enormous reduction in space from the world pattern to the district or tehsil necessitated a degree of precision in facts, variables, and analysis the traditional agricultural geographers were ill-equipped to bring about. It was only expected that the scholars of the agricultural geography school founded and nourished by Professor Shafi would be among the first to follow his pioneering publication and produce the first thesis-level research that illustrates Von Thunen on one hand and Haggett and Chorley on the other in the explanation of the Indian agricultural landscape.

Dr. Raina's research, it may be stated categorically, is the first book-length publication in India on locational analysis in agricultural geography. The study area of the book is the piedmont district of Jammu that extends over the Dun, the Siwalik Hills, and the Kandi. It is a relatively underdeveloped district agriculturally. However, it has a lakh city, Jammu, and several other small, medium, and large towns and in the post-Independence period has been endowed with irrigation and roads. It is difficult to identify the area as Der Isolierte Staat, the principal keystone of Von Thunen's model but some of the economic variables arising out of the spatial concepts - distance and cost and market are operative.

It is pertinent at this point to briefly suggest the main grounds of Von Thunen's significance. This is one of the powerful models in which the economic relationships, even the abstract generalisations, have been translated into spatial terms. Hence, it can be applied to the studies of various scales except the world patterns. Aspects of temporal change in agricultural landscape involving the independent variables of market, distance, and transfrontation can be identified, retrodicted, and incorporated in the model. Since most of the data is generated from the questionnaire the environmental data, always incomplete, unreliable, and difficult of availability is easily dispensed with.

Dr Raina has produced a large book comprising of nine chapters. He begins with a straightforward description of the physical background and systems of irrigation prevailing in the district. It does not provide an isotropic surface so the cost and actual distance behave in a manner that the economy is mediated by physical (relief) characteristics. In an area where all around a point the terrain is complex the sameness of complexity suggests a kind of uniformity in that the straight-line distance, the topographic distance, and the transportation cost-distance are equally complex all around. It is not a case of isotropic surface ? If it is so the study area does conform to a great extent to the ideal condition prerequired for the application and validity of Von Thunen's model.

Distribution of crops which is the core of agricultural geography has claimed a full chapter in the book. After all it is this phenomenon that initially inspired both the proponents of environmental determinism and economic determinism (Von Thunen) and the spatial attributes of the phenomenon are explained by a complex set of factors. It is interesting to find Dr. Raina's description and analysis drawing heavily on the environmental factors but it is the broad patterns that is being correlated with rainfall, soil water-availability, and to some extent temperature. There are definite cropping patterns varying among the Siwalik Hills, the Dun, the upper piedmont, the lower piedmont, and parts of the North Indian Plain. From this pattern Dr. Raina moves to the locational arguments.

Dr. Raina performs a difficult task in isolating the factors determining the location of crops. What is the difference between 'distribution' and 'location' as concepts ? The difference is not merely semantic. Behind the facade of broad similarity lie the different origins, the contexts of variables, the spatial attributes, and the paradigms. Locational pattern is unquestionably theoretical :

from the location theory (based on distance, cost, and rent) one could predict, even though partially, the crop patterns. Distributional research is essentially empirical. One moves from the distribution so identified on the landscape to the formulation of generalisations. The two modes of investigation obviously cannot be integrated even though the description could provide clues to the understanding of the location of crops.

From this point it is logical for Dr. Raina to move up to Von Thunen's formulation and a critical examination of its statements on the theory of intensity and the theory of crops. The model, essentially, is founded on two kinds of rent, the economic rent and the land rent both related to distance from a market in an agricultural economy that is at least partly oriented to a market. Von Thunen did emphasise, and this ensures the conformity to ground realities, the effects of other salient variables, cost of production, market price, cost of transportation, and yield of crops. Each of these variables has its own sub-system of variables that intersect with each other and render the equations that explain the distribution of crops more complex. Dr. Raina very clearly reinforces the already known argument that the assumption that distance is the primate independent variable capable of explaining the spatial variation of all the agricultural elements and agronomic attributes. It would indeed be interesting to find out whether the crop pattern varies significantly among the agricultural landscapes of capitalist economy and socialist economy. Can we identify the effects of the changes introduced by the implementation of the agricultural development projects during the operation of the various five-year plans on the supposedly Thunenian landscape in Jammu District? The meaning of distance would surely change with the change in mode of transportation and the pattern of roads. The other Thunenian variables would change drastically in response to technological developments. Dr. Raina's exegesis of Thunen's model, a clear and simplified reproduction and restatement, prepares the scholars well to respond critically to its application to the ground reality of the study area. Dr. Raina reminds us strongly that Thunen's paradigm does not only address the locational pattern of crops around a market but also the manner in which the land around a market would be used. Thunen's normative formulation on an intensive use of land near the market and an extensive use of land at increased distance from it which matches with reality in large number of cases has been carefully discussed by Dr. Raina. The normative quality of the analysis is derived entirely from the theoretical constructs and its general applicability is predicated on the same origin. Dr. Raina does a great service to us by treating the Thunen model in a more comprehensive manner in particular helping us to realise that the model is structured on a far larger number of variables, dependent and independent, than we have been used to recognise and apply. Another assumption inherent in the model as the author rightly points out is the nature of intensity which does not only mean the raising of crops in several seasons - not just one - but also, equally importantly, the higher input of labour, manure, and water and the presence of a concentric - ring landscape that has embedded in it the spatial variations of the crops, the crop intensity, and the factors which determine them. Dr. Raina does well by consistently holding on to the basic assumptions of Thunen model and interpreting them in terms of the model's logic rather than to bring in the current methodological structure of behavioural analysis in which the central explanation hinges upon the perceived reality as against the objective reality.

Pitched against the theoretical structure Dr. Raina proceeds to examine the applicability of Von Thunen's model in other parts of the world. It is well known to the geographers investigating spatial organisation that Von Thunen's basic ideas have been applied, tested, and validated to a great extent in different kinds of countries, developed, developing, underdeveloped, and undeveloped. Africa, India, U.S.A., Germany, and England have been the locales for such testing and rewarding studies. Certain factors influencing the location of agriculture, distance, land quality, agricultural infrastructures, land rent and the entire range of agricultural inputs, appear to be common in all kinds of countries arranged according to the scales of development. That the model is repetitive and the conclusions are not too dissimilar goes to add to the strength of Von Thunen's basic arguments. It is obvious that by validating the model in all kinds of countries Dr. Raina does raise our expectations of a sound applicability to his study area : the district of Jammu.

Then, in the next chapter, tearing himself apart from the wooly but seductive premises of behavioural geography Dr. Raina transfers the entire structure of Von Thunen in its original relationships and functions to the district of Jammu. Since he had already given an impressive discussion of the distribution of crops in the area understanding of his analysis is rendered easier. Dr. Raina, following the well established norms of inductive analysis applies Von Thunen to the explanation of the distribution of crops and distribution of the intensity levels without involving complicated and often confusing statistical correlations and quantitative analysis. Dr. Raina disaggregates the basic components of Thunian structure and then applies them individually to the explanation of the two main agricultural facts : the distribution of crops and the distribution of the intensity of croppings. Through this method he is able to identify the strength of each determinant and its comparative strength with reference to another. There is no question that the author has succeeded eminently in demonstrating that the model is indeed applicable to the whole of the district as one unit of investigation. The Siwalik Hills to the north, the Indo-Pakistan boundary to the south, and the river Tawi flowing through the district produce deviations that conform strongly to the text-book examples and make the analysis still more realistic and convincing.

It is the testing of the model at the village level that must draw our immediate critical attention and once understood would certainly elicit the critical acclaim. Although the scale of observation and investigation is micro and apparently easily to handle, the task is complex because of the very large number of units (fields) of study for each of which all the elements of agriculture and spatial organisation have to be recorded, analysed, and correlation done within the structure of the model. The result is impressive and convincing. An individual village indeed corresponds very largely to a situation similar to Der Isolierte Steat. Distance does play an extremely important role in determining the pattern of crops but this distance has two dimensions or ways of interpreting it : (i) distance from the well and hence the distance of the domain, and (ii) distance from the settlement itself. In this analysis it is obvious that, the focus of study is the intra-village relationship. Another way of looking at it is to treat each individual village at a discrete unit in space located uniquely at a certain distance from the market. These are, prima facie, two distinct levels of analysis and the data involved are clearly different but the basic control is still to be discovered in distance of different kinds. In attempting the village level investigation Dr. Raina follows the pioneering research earlier published by his teacher, Professor Dr. M. Shafi. That in a context of homogeneity in culture the pattern of crops is, at least, broadly an expected replication of the pattern produced by Thunen model, only goes to reinforce the soundness of its applicability. Indeed Dr. Raina can claim with justification that the study of Thunen at the village level is a major contribution to the rather meagre corpus of theoretical literature produced by the Indian agricultural geographers. The book, on this score, is a major step forward in agricultural geography research. Dr. Raina adds another feather to his cap of success by discussing through one whole chapter the modifications suggested by his investigations at different levels of enquiry and analysis. Modifications arise at both levels but for different reasons. While at the level of the district culture, history, and the government policies combine with the variations in physiography, at the village level irrigation system and micro-relief and soil catena patterns introduce significant modifications. Dr. Raina reminds us forcefully in his research, even though implicitly, that the conditions of variables differ very greatly with the differences in the political economy system. The model, in order to be successfully applied, would demand a radical modification in the context of planned economy system of the socialistic political framework. Thunen is, par excellence, a model for the capitalistic, laissez faire economy. India, of post-1947 period, does not answer fully the description of the latter spatial and political-economic pattern.

In effect Dr. Raina establishes that Thunen model, even though of an origin of an entirely different historical-cultural and political-economic context, is applicable to a large extent, albeit with modifications, to the conditions prevailing in India. In his analysis he reinforces the continuity and validity of some factors, such as distance, which are based on the foundation of rational behaviour. Dr. Raina's book would inspire the prospective scholars of agricultural geography to enter the new field of inductive analysis and move away from descriptive statements.

The book will be useful to geographers of a number of branches as well as to the economists and development planners.

I congratulate Dr. J.L. Raina on his pioneering book that will serve as an important model to be followed by other agricultural geographers.

PLANS FOR DEPARTURE, Nayantara Sahgal, Heinamann : London, 1986, 216 pp. £ 9.95.

Neena Arora

After the publication of her much acclaimed and twice award-winning novel *Rich Like Us* (1985), Nayantara Sahgal's new novel *Plans for Departure* (1986) has appeared which too has won Commonwealth Writers' Prize for the Eurasia region. It is not merely as the jacket-cover proclaims, a "love-story and mystery" which is "set on a continent poised for revolution and a world on the edge of war." It can, in fact, be grouped among her political novels which reveal her keen interest in the political affairs of India. It offers a portrait of India of pre-Gandhian era in artistic terms.

The novel is set in the year 1914 and the scene is laid in Himapur—a small remote hill station in Himalayas frequented by summer visitors. The District Magistrate of Himapur, Henry Brewster is leading a lonely life, deserted by his wife Stella. During these lonely moments arrives Miss Tantanna Hansen—a Danish lady who visits India on a pleasure trip a year before her marriage to an English diplomat—Nicholas, stationed at British Embassy in Paris. This young lady is hired by the sister of an eminent scientist, Sir Nitin Basu to be Basu's secretary. Before Hansen and Brewster could come closer, she comes across a certain evidence which reveals that Brewster may have murdered his wife Stella. Tormented by unanswered questions which remain shrouded in mystery, Anna makes her plans for departure from India, symbolically the plans for the British departure from India.

Another couple, Marlowe and Lucille Croft are on a mission of spreading the word of God in the small town of Himapur. Marlowe's ardent desire is to build a 'Christian Church' in the hills but the chief obstacle in his unfulfilled ambition is his own rude and ignorant wife Lucille who doesn't see any sense in so seriously pursuing the building of a church "where you'll have no one but coolies and servants for a congregation" (p.81).

The clouds of First World War are gathering over Europe; it seems that everybody in the novel which has mainly European characters at the centre, is engrossed in discussing war and the turmoil in the outside world such as the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand or King Alexander and Queen Draga and their murder in 1903.

In India, the year 1914 is the time, when Balgangadhar Tilak was released from prison and the freedom movement got a new force from his. Sahgal's *tour-de-force* lies in her analysis of the history of Indian freedom movement, its genesis, and the understanding of the ideological issues of the pre-Gandhian era. The references to Old Testament and Old English characters like Beowulf and King Arthur, however appear over emphasised. The frequent references to the speeches and statements of Lokmanya Tilak reveal Sahgal's obsession for historical past. At places, the deliberate insertion of history and myths in fact diminishes rather than enhance the readability of the otherwise enjoyable novel. But for the love-episode and the mystery associated with it, the novel would have become a histrio-political document.

Sahgal's portrayal of characters which was quite sensitive, deep and effective in *Rich Like Us* is comparatively weak here. She does not delve deep into individual characters, but it seems that her pre-occupation is primarily with the political scene which she, no doubt, handles very effectively. Her description of places, the flora and fauna of the mountains is superb. However, after *Rich Like Us* one expected something better and exquisite from her again.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Lovelina P. Singh is a Lecturer in the Department of English, Panjab University, Chandigarh. Her area of interest is contemporary American Jewish fiction.

Kamal N. Awasthi is a Lecturer in English in the Postgraduate Department, Government Postgraduate College, Dharmsala, H.P. He received his Ph.D. for his thesis "Five Faces of the Hero in the Novels of Bernard Malamud".

Jaidev is a Reader in English in Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, and has published widely on contemporary British fiction.

Pankaj K. Singh is a Lecturer in the Department of English, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.

Mina Surjit Singh is a Lecturer in English, Panjab University, Chandigarh. Her Doctoral Work is on the poetry of Theodore Roethke.

Sunanda Mongia is a Lecturer in English, Kanshi Vidyapith University, Varanasi.

S.S. Bhagat is a Reader in English, Gurukul Kangri University, Haridwar.

B.R. Nagpal is a Reader in English, at Deshbandhu College, Delhi University, Delhi.

Amrit Lal Mehta is a Lecturer in German, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Gunita Randhawa is a Lecturer in French, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

D.D. Sharma is Professor of Sanskrit and Linguistics, Panjab University, Chandigarh and is a recipient of Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship in Sanskrit and U.G.C. Emeritus Fellowship in Linguistics. He is a frequent contributor to our Research Journal.

Satya Vrat is Head, Department of Sanskrit, Govt. Post-graduate College, Sri-Ganganagar.

G.C. Mohapatra is Professor of Archaeology in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

A.B. Mukerji is Professor of Geography, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Devendra Handa is Chairman, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Mohinder Singh is a Lecturer, Department of A.I.H.C. & A., Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

Jalaluddin Ahemad Khan is a Research Fellow, Department of History, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

N.S. Gorekar is Assistant Director, Heras Institute of Indian History & Culture, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

J.K. Sharma is a Reader, Department of History, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

S.P. Sangar is a frequent contributor to our Research Bulletin (Arts), Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Ravinder Kumar Sharma is a Reader, Department of History, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

Neena Arora is a Lecturer in English, H.P. University, Shimla.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH BULLETIN (ARTS)

Volume XX, No. 2 October, 1989

Chief Editor
NIRMAL MUKERJI

PANJAB UNIVERSITY
CHANDIGARH

Subscription : Rs. 60.00/£ 6.00/U.S. $ 12.00 (Annual)
Rs. 30.00/£ 3.00/U.S. $ 6.00 (Single copy)

COPYRIGHT 1989 : PANJAB UNIVERSITY RESEARCH BULLETIN
(ARTS)

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Inquiries regarding reproduction in any manner, in whole or part, in English or any other language, may be addressed to the Chief Editor, Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts).

★ ★ ★ ★

The opinions expressed in the articles printed in this Journal do not necessarily represent the editorial views or policies of the Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts).

★ ★ ★ ★

NARCISSISM AND DEATH : A STUDY OF ANGEL CLARE IN HARDY'S *TESS OF THE d'URBERVILLES*

Giles Mitchell

> "Angel Clare could never have been happy with her. After the first few months he would inevitably have thrown her failings in her face."
>
> — Thomas Hardy, *Black and White, 1892*

I

Idealization and Devaluation

The point that I hope to make about Angel Clare is that he is driven by an unconscious fear of death to which he sacrifices Tess symbolically in the sleep-walking scene at Wellbridge three nights after the wedding and literally at Stonehenge not long after his return from Brazil. I offer an analysis of Clare's narcissism for two reasons: (1) It provides in illuminating context, I hope, for a discussion of Clare's fear of death; (2) other Hardy critics have said little about the personal, as opposed to the cultural, origins of Clare's psychology. I do not wish to establish Angel Clare as merely a sick man who can be dismissed after diagnosis, but for many reasons, including length restrictions, I cannot describe his entire personhood. I cannot take into account the positive side, for example, of his idealism. I perforce deal only with his most disabling psychological problems. Obviously, the complexity of his character resists any one method of analysis. Fortunately, there are many fine works using various approaches to understanding Angel Clare. As yet, however, there are none which study either his fear of death or the pathological narcissism with which this fear is associated.

Pathological narcissism is a personality disorder in which the subject's life is dominated by the ego-ideal. In the normal person, the ego is nourished by the ego-ideal, for it provides self-esteem and meaningfulness. However, in pathological narcissism, aspirations and ideals become destructive images of "perfection and omnipotence" (Jasovic-Gasic and Vesel 371). These images are designed to conceal what Norman 0. Brown calls the narcissist's "flight from death" (118).

Angel Clare's need to idealize Tess derives in part from his sense of the bitter insignificance of his life. He looks "upon it as a mishap to be alive" (I 188). He is gifted with good looks, health, and enough money to get by on (but no more than that), yet he finds "This hobble of being alive" very difficult (Hardy I 165). His eyes are "fixed" and "abstracted"; there is "something nebulous, preoccupied, vague in his bearing . . ." (I 152). There is a sense of unrest about him, for "something had to be done; he had wasted many valuable years" (I 158). His goals are amorphous, unrealistic, grandiose : if he becomes a farmer, he will be "an American or Australian Abraham, commanding like a monarch his flocks and his herds, his spotted and his ring-straked, his men-servants and his maids" (I 187). Furthermore, consciously he no longer believes—and Hardy makes much of this—in life after death. However, he seems to have a powerful unconscious wish for resurrection. When in the early dawns he plays his harp, he "often" thinks "of the Resurrection hour" (I 174). When Tess is present at these times, to him she looks like a "divinity who could confer bliss" (I 175), a point that anticipates Clare's dream in which Tess had died and, "risen as a spirit," is "leading him to Heaven" (II 80).

In brief, I will attempt to show that Clare idealizes Tess primarily not because he has a generous nature, but because he fears death and plans to use her in order to allay his fear. That Clare idealizes Tess until her wedding night revelations is not a point that requires argument. Critics agree that he sees her as a goddess, "a visionary essence of woman . . . . He called her Artemis, Demeter, and other fanciful names *half* teasingly" (I 176; emphasis added). Hyman says that Clare's need to see Tess as a " 'divinity who could confer bliss' reveals infantile regression" in that "Tess fills the place of [the] rejected church" (132). Clare's extreme idealization of Tess reveals the typical narcissist's need to find "external omnipotent powers" in those whom they idealize (Lasch 84). The reader will recall that Clare, as an ineffectual gesture of intellectual emancipation, has rejected "Article Four, the resurrection of Jesus in the incarnate body" (Kozicki 154). Therefore, he needs to see "Tess as sun-goddess incarnate. He must see in Tess the sun-goddess incarnate that he denied in Christ" (Kozicki 154).

However, in the narcissist, idealization is invariably followed by severe devaluation when the idealized person turns out not to be perfect. Therefore, when on the wedding night Tess tells Clare of her past, he instantly ceases to love her, or more precisely, he reveals that he has never loved her. Here we observe a devaluation so radical as to be what Rothstein calls an "emotional erasing of the object [i.e., Tess]" (219). Because of the morbid urgency of his need to idealize her, Clare cannot allow himself to know the real Tess and "the full depth of her devotion, its single-mindedness, its meekness; what longsuffering it guaranteed, what honesty, what endurance, what good faith" (Hardy II

31). Because he does not know Tess, Clare is ironically correct in saying to her, "the woman I have been loving is not you" but "another woman in your shape" (II 31). The problem is that from the moment he is seriously attracted to her, Clare "denies Tess's sexual nature through idealization" (Kramer 147). The probem is also, more simply, that Tess is not a virgin, and Angel is a "slave to custom and conventionality" (Hardy II 100). Clare upbraids Tess about her past with Alec, asking, "Why didn't you tell me before ?" (II 52). Because of his narcissistic sense of entitlement, he feels little if any compunction about not having told her before the wedding about *his own* sexual past. There is no indication whatever that he has agonized over the question of whether or not to tell her. It is not until the wedding night that the reader learns that he has even considered telling her about it; and when he does tell her, he does so in a way that is stilted and pedantic, referring to "plenary inspiration," and quoting St. Paul on charity and Horace on "Integer vitae" (II 45). The tone of his confession suggests that although he is repelled by his own sexual nature, he smugly assumes that Tess will have no trouble in forgiving him. The excuse he gives for not telling her is fear of rejection—that is, ironically, she might say that he is not the man she has been loving. As he says, "I was afraid of endangering my chance of you, darling, the great prize of my life" (II 45).

Tess does not tell Clare about the misplaced letter in which she revealed her past to him, but she does point out that she made other attempts to tell him. He agrees, perfunctorily, but all that matters to him is that Tess is not the woman he has been loving, he believes. Heretofore, Tess's justification for not telling him is her belief in the reality and power of her love for him. For all her anguished doubt about whether or not she is worthy of Clare, not once does Tess doubt that she loves him. Clare, however, is not even certain that he loves the idealized Tess, but only once does he question himself about this crucial matter. On this occasion he says that he loves Tess and then immediately admits his uncertainty :

> He loved her; ought to marry her ? What would his mother and his brothers say ? What would he himself say a couple of years after the event ? That would depend upon whether the germs of staunch comradeship underlay the temporary emotion, or whether it were a sensuous joy in her form only, with no substratum of everlastingness. (I 209)

In other words, he will marry her and then find out whether or not he loves her. His sense of superior entitlement sanctions this callous disregard for the fact that he has urged Tess to believe that he loves her. Hardy says that "It was for herself he loved Tess, her soul, her heart, her substance" (I 220-221), but this authorial statement is soon contradicted by Clare's saying to Tess, "I repeat, the woman I have been loving is not you" (II 53). The Hardy scholar will remember that, in all his novels, the editorial Hardy sometimes contradicts the dramatic Hardy.

II

Human Sacrifice and the Dream of Resurrection

Clare shrinks from a full life in the body out of "fear of life and fear of death," to use Becker's phrase (*Denial of Death* 53). He is sort of person described by Becker as doubting "the abiding value of . . . life," bogged down "in the denial of creatureliness" (210). Critics agree that Clare fears his creatureliness, the "corporal," and yearns for the "ideal" (Hardy II 74) — specifically the ideal of life beyond the body. So driven is he by fear of the body and his yearning to transcend it that he rigidly denies Tess's sexual nature. When he hears her confession and concludes that her body is polluted by her sexuality, he can no longer idealize her as a "visionary essence." Therefore, he decides to rid her of her body. While asleep, he rolls her in the bed sheet, "as in a shroud" (Hardy II 77), and "attempts to bury Tess" in the stone coffin (Kramer 147). Putting Tess into the coffin, Professor Tanner says, "is the most significant thing that he does. He encoffins the sexual instinct, then lies down beside Tess. The deepest inclinations of his psyche, his very being, have been revealed" (194). Kozicki notes that in rejecting Tess, Clare "symbolically killed Tess [and] buried her in the coffin as dead" (157.) **Wright argues that Laying her in the tomb symbolizes** . . . his need to sacrifice her for his unnatural ideals" (10). Unfortunately, these critics say little about the personal (as opposed to the cutural) origins of Clare's "unnatural ideals." However, I hope to make a convincing case that the personal origin of Clare's most deeprooted psychological problem is his fear of death.

According to Otto Rank and others who have written on the subject, scapegoat sacrifice his common and universal because "the death fear of the ego is lessened by the killing, the sacrifice, of the other; through the death of the other, one buys oneself free from the penalty of dying."[1] By pronouncing Tess "Dead ! Dead ! Dead !" (II 78) and placing her in the stone coffin in the Abbey church, Clare symbolically kills her in order to empower his unconscious wish for resurrection. "He fancied she had risen as a spirit, and was *leading* him to heaven" (II 80; emphasis added). Casagrande says that before his marriage, Clare "had been looking to [Tess] to recover a lost purity of spirit" (172). But Clare does not wish to recover his purity. He wishes to *insure* it—eternally—by the ritual of scapegoat sacrifice, the purpose of which is the "unblocking of power" (Becker, *Escape from Evil* 104). One reason this ritual does not give Clare a sense of power is that it is a form of suicide. This is the meaning of Tanner's statement that in symbolically killing Tess, Clare "encoffins the sexual instinct, then *lies down* beside Tess" (184; emphasis added) as if, I believe, he also has died. This action implies the hope that he can rid himself of his body and simultaneously take on the lustral power of Tess's spirit and thus be resurrected.[2]

The most important point in the novel is Clare's belief that Tess's spirit *can save him from death*. To stress the central importance of this point, Hardy contrasts Clare with Tess by showing that Tess has consciously accepted her own death as her natural and inevitable fate *before* she meets Clare. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* dramatizes this fact by presenting it in a chapter of three and a half pages, the shortest in the novel :

> She philosophically noted dates as they came past in the revolution of the year. . . She suddenly thought one afternoon, when looking in the glass at her fairness, that there was yet another date, of greater importance to her than those; that of her own death, when all these charms would have disappeared; . . . a day giving no sign or sound when she annually passed over it. . . Of that day, doomed to be her terminus in time through all the ages, she did not know the place in month, week, season, or year. (I 128-9)

This passage is followed immediately by one which shows clearly the cause and effect relationship between Tess's philosophically mature acceptance of death and a remarkable growth of her being :

> Almost at a leap Tess thus changed from simple girl to complex woman. Symbols of reflectiveness passed into her face, and a note of tragedy at times into her voice. Her eyes grew larger and more eloquent. She became what would have been called a fine creature; her aspect was fair and arresting; her soul that of a woman whom the turbulent experiences of the last year or two had quite failed to demoralize. (I 129)

Unless one takes into account the determining importance of her acceptance of death, it is impossible to understand Tess's tragic greatness—in Brooks' words, her "power of suffering, renewal, and compassion" (253). Tess's acceptance of her death is an affirmation of re-birth, of life, and growth. She "felt the pulse of hopeful life" and "the stir of germination" (Hardy I 130). The remainder of this chapter describes life "surging up" (I 131) within her. She is ready to experience love to "the full depth" (II 31) of her unique personhood (II 31). She has become the kind of person whom May describes as possessing the "intensified openness to love which the awareness of death gives us" (99).

May and others of his stature (including Rank, who was May's teacher) argue that "Love is a reminder of our own mortality" (102). To Clare, love as a *memento mori* is fearful and intolerable. Clare cannot face the universal human problem presented by the brute fact that "sex is of the body, and the body is of death . . . . Sex reminds him [man] that he is nothing himself but a link in [nature's] chain of being" (Becker, *Denial of Death* 162-3). After rejecting Tess's sexuality and her great love, Clare begins the radical reduction of his being. His mouth becomes "small" and "compressed" (Hardy II 61). His face takes on a "terribly sterile expression which had spread thereon since her disclosure" (II 61). After his dream of murder in the sleep-walking scene, Clare becomes "eaten out with thinking, withered by thinking; scourged out of all his former pulsating flexuous domesticity" (Hardy II 70). His "propensities, tendencies, habits, were as dead leaves upon the tyrannous wind" (II 74). His "resolve" to reject Tess is described as a kind of death, "standing in its bones; nothing but a skeleton" (II 81). The waning of life in Clare continues until he is "reduced" to the "skeleton behind the man"; he has aged "twenty years" (II 236). Hardy once told an interviewer that Clare had "great subtilty of mind" (Millgate 293), and perhaps he does; nevertheless, he cannot grasp the simple fact that, as Unamuno says, "love is the sole medicine against death, for it is death's brother" (132).

If my analysis of Clare's sleep-walking dream is valid, it explains the fact that the dreaming Clare addresses Tess as if he loves her : "My poor, poor Tess—my dearest, darling Tess ! So sweet, so good, so true !" (Hardy II 77). Here Clare is referring to the Tess whom he has idealized until the wedding night and whom he can continue to idealize by murdering her—separating her from her body. With a generosity typical of her, Tess believes that the sleep walking episode reveals that Clare "had instinctively manifested a fondness for her" (II 82), but she is wrong.

III

Death, and Love Not Renascent

The majority opinion among Hardy critics is that while in Brazil —where he suffers a serious illness—Clare acknowledges and affirms his love for Tess. On this point critics are in agreement with the editorial Hardy, who says that in Brazil Clare feels "love renascent" (II 202) and that when he and Tess are reunited, "Tenderness was absolutely dominant in Clare at last" (II 261).[3] This statement is followed by Clare's saying to Tess, "I will not desert you ! I will protect you . . . whatever you may have done or not have done !" (II 261). However, on the question of whether or not Clare has changed and now loves Tess, the critic Hardy and the editorial Hardy disagree radically. In an interview published in *Black and White*, Hardy emphatically rejects the possibility that Clare could accept Tess's sexual past :

> You ask why Tess should not have gone off with Clare and "lived happily ever after." Do you not see that under *any* circumstances they were doomed to unhappiness ? A sensitive man like Angel Clare could never have been happy with her. After the first few months he would inevitably have thrown her failings in her face. He did not recoil from her after the murder it is true. He was in love with her failings then I suppose; he had not seen her for a long time; with the inconsistency of human nature he forgave the greater sin when he could not pardon the lesser. (Waldoff 148)

Although this statement contradicts the editorial Hardy of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, it is in accord with the plots of all Hardy novels containing "major female characters [who] have premarital or extra-marital sexual experience," none of whom are allowed to survive (Waldoff 148).

When Clare goes to Sandbourne to find Tess, he tells her, "I did not think rightly of you—I did not see you as you were !" (Hardy II 250). Tess then tells him that they cannot be reunited because she is living with Alec, whom she despises as Clare knows. He apparently agrees that they cannot be reunited because he does not ask, much less entreat, her to change her mind. Instead, he goes across the street, has breakfast, and walks down the road. After killing Alec, Tess overtakes Clare and tells him what she has done. He replies, "I do love you Tess—O, I do—it is all come back !" (II 260). Nevertheless, because Clare did not love Tess before he abandoned her, the reader must be sceptical about exactly *what* has come back. One's scepticism deepens when Clare unwittingly reveals that he continues to judge Tess with an appalling harshness : he believes her love for him to be corrupted by a "strangeness which had apparently *extinguished her moral sense altogether*" (II 260; emphasis added). It would follow, it seems, that he cannot value her love for him, and subsequent events show that indeed he cannot.

His belief that she is morally dead not only sanctions his assumed superiority, but it also partially explains why he does so little, if anything, to help her evade the constabulary that will soon be pursuing her. Clare and Tess walk aimlessly as they leave the vicinity of Sandbourne. When she asks the logical question, "Are we going anywhere in particular ?" (II 262), Clare's reply clearly reveals a lack of interest in protecting her. His reply is, "I don't know, dearest . . . . Why ?" (II 262). There was "an unpractical vagueness in their movements . . . ; neither one of them seemed to consider any question of effectual escape, disguise, or long concealment" (II 262). At Clare's suggestion, they take refuge in the unoccupied Bramhurst Court mansion, which as Clare knows, has a caretaker who comes "on fine days" (II 264) to open windows and air the place out. Because the day is filled with "dazzling sunlight" (II 284), the reader must wonder why Clare leads Tess into the place. They are, in fact, soon discovered by the caretaker. When Clare suggests that they leave, Tess is reluctant to do so, for she wants to prolong the moment that the mansion has made possible even though she knows that their presence there will soon be detected. Tess's lack of interest in escape is caused by her realistic belief, shared by Hardy the critic, *that Clare would eventually abandon her again*. She tells him what she justifiably fears "will come":

> I fear that what you think of me now may not last. I do not wish to outlive your present feeling for me. I would rather not. I would rather be dead and buried when the time comes for you to despise me, so that it may never be known to me that you despised me. (II 267)

Clare's reply could hardly be described as the impassioned reassurance that Tess needs. It is merely, "I cannot ever despise you" (II 267), a statement implicitly but absolutely controverted by his failure "to consider any question of effectual *interest* in escape, disguise, or long concealment" (II 282; emphasis added). Apparently he wants, unconsciously, for Tess to be apprehended. He has promised never to leave her again—"I will not desert you"— (II 281), but his promise is entirely at variance with his need for "narcissistic perfection" in both himself and Tess, his "object" (Rothstein 18).[4] He thinks that her love is flawed by a "strangeness" (II 260), i.e., an inexpungable sexual amorality. This is precisely Hardy's reason for saying (in *Black and White*) that Clare "forgave the greater sin [the murder] when he could not pardon the lesser [her sexual past]" (Waldoff 148).

Before the wedding, Tess has been for Clare only "the other as mirror" (Chasseguet-Smirgel 183).[5] One reason for his idealization of Tess as a "divinity who could confer bliss" is that he can use her as a mirror to reflect his neurotic yearning for a supra-bodily purity and for immortality. Before the wedding, Clare "would sometimes catch" Tess looking at him with "large, worshipful eyes . . . . *as if she saw something immortal before her*" (Hardy II 4; emphasis added). (Unlike Clare, Tess is not driven by a need for immorality— for herself or for Clare). After his illness in Brazil, he begins wishing to see her again, and he remembers "How her eyes had lingered upon him; how she had hung upon his words as if they were a god's !" (II 200).

After he returns from Brazil, he admits that he did not, earlier, see the real Tess : "I did not see you as you were" (II 250), the obvious implication being that he now sees her clearly. In actuality, he now sees her as being morally dead, just as he did after the wedding. Therefore, he has little if any interest in helping her escape her pursuers. Instead, he increases the likelihood of her capture by taking her to Bramhurst Court and then to Stonehenge, a "spot [that] is visible for miles around" (II 271). If she has indeed become the morally empty woman that Clare believes her to be, why does she judge herself so harshly and Clare so generously ? Of herself she says, "I cannot see why any man should sooner or later, be able to help despising me" (II 287). Clare, however, was in her judgement, "all that was perfection, personally and mentally" (II 261). In brief, Clare sees only a corrupt Tess who does not exist. Hardy's editorial observation that Clare has returned from Brazil with "love" for her "renacent" (II 202) is simply not believable, for again, the reader must ask, *what* love ? In all, it seems logical to suggest that Clare has sought her out because (1) he has deluded himself about his allegedly "renacent" love, and (2) he unconsciously plans to sacrifice her to his fear of death.

We recall that he takes her to Bramhurst Court mansion on a day of "dazzling sunlight" and that he knows the caretaker comes there "on fine days" (II 264). They remain there for five days, and "it is a fine day" on the morning that the caretaker discovers them (II 268). There is more than a hint in the novel that Clare knows the area around Bramhurst Court and Stonehenge : when they arrive at Bramhurst Court, he recognizes the Mansion—"I know it" (II 263). Eustace believes that at Stonehenge Tess "is caught up in a carefully-constructed sacrifice" (127). At Stonehenge, "Clare himself speaks of sacrifice to the sun" (Eustace 127). Tanner says that "Tess is indeed a victim, sacrificed to the sun" (194). Considering the Resurrection theme in the syndrome of Clare's secret fears, it is appropriate that the sun is pre-eminently associated with "the masculine principle [and] implies the idea of resurrection" (Cirlot 302).[6] We do not know whether or not Clare has read *The Golden Bough*, but we do know that in June, 1891, Hardy himself read "at least" the first volume of the two-volume edition (Millgate 315). It is this volume that contains the material regarding human sacrifice to the sun. In other words, Hardy had read Frazer before completing the book form of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*.

All the trustworthy evidence seems to show that Clare continues to deteriorate after he abandons Tess. If this is the case, it could account for Hardy's emphasis on the fact that when Clare returns from Brazil he looks like a skeleton : "You could see the skeleton behind the man, and almost the ghost behind the skeleton . . . His sunken eye pits were of morbid hue, and the light in his eyes had waned" (II 236). It could be argued that Clare has become emaciated merely because of worry and illness, but in the context of his unresolved fear of death it is likely that his deathly appearance is symbolic. Becker's description of people who bog down "in the denial of creatureliness" *(Denial of Death* 210) fits Clare's case precisely. Such people live "*as though dead* in trying to avoid life and death" (*Denial and Death* 210). As he stands in the doorway of the house where Tess now lives with Alec, he is a "yellow skeleton" (Hardy II 250). He looks "plague-stricken" (II 251), and I suggest that he is a *carrier* of the plague. That is to say, however obliquely or symbolically or unconsciously, he is bringing death to Tess. It is ironic that Clare resembles the death he fears : when a pathologically narcissistic person sees "death [as] the ultimate limit" and frustrator, the narcissist then "identifies with the frustrator" (Rothstein 89). When this identification occurs, death may be "anthropomorphized" (Rothstein 69) : *Clare becomes death in order to allay his fear of it.* In other words, "the subject identifies himself with his aggressor . . . either by appropriating the aggression itself or else by physical . . . emulation of the aggressor" (Laplanche and Pontalis 208). In bringing death to Tess, Clare appropriates the aggression. In looking like a skeleton, he physically emulates the aggressor.

I have suggested above that Tess's mature acceptance of death enlarges and enriches her character (at least until Clare abandons her), leaving her to be preyed upon by poverty and by Alec). I have suggested also that Clare's denial of death progressively weakens and diminishes his character. The contrasting death imagery associated with Tess's body and with Clare's elaborates this point. Clare seems not to be consciously aware of his skeletal appearance. However, rejected and abandoned by Clare, Tess meditates upon the death's head that lies beneath her flesh :

> The wife of Angel Clare put her hand to her brow, and felt its curve, and the edges of her eye-sockets perceptible under the soft skin, and thought as she did so that a time would come when that bone would be bare. (II 115)

Although her last words in the novel, "I am ready" (II 274), may express a resignation bordering on despair, with these words she confers a tragic dignity upon herself. Because we know that Hardy read "a great deal of Shakespeare" (Millgate 85), it seems reasonable to suggest that with Tess's "I am ready" Hardy evokes Hamlet's "the readiness is all," the last words of Hamlet's speech about acceptance of death.

It is clear by the end of the novel that, like Alec, Angel Clare is a predator. Alec preys upon Tess's body; Clare preys upon her spirit, but doing so requires that he sacrifice her body. The presence of "something nebulous, preoccupied, vague in his bearing" (Hardy I 152), which is apparent when we first see Clare, becomes ominously pervasive in the last section of the novel. He now seems unable to control his walking life any better than the sleep-walking to which he is "occasionaly subject" (II 78). In his youth, "people had said of him that he was one who might do anything if he tried (I 152). In his manhood, his fear-driven, narcissistic predations preoccupy him and deplete his vitality and power of being. The end of the novel holds no promise that he will ever be more than he is.

NOTES

1. Otto Rank, as quoted in Becker's *Denial of Death.*, p. 108.
2. Somnambulism may be the "acting out [of] irrational dream experiences" (Gregory 723). In some cases "it may be regarded as a manifestation of the twilight state which occurs in some forms of mental illness . . . There are cases on record where it has been claimed that acts of homicide have taken place during an episode of sleep-walking" (Gregory 723). Freud seems to believe that acts of "violence" may take place during the performances of somnambulism" (168). Hardy says that "Under the influence of any strongly disturbing force Clare would occasionally walk in his sleep, and even perform strange feats, such as he had on the night of their return from market just before their marriage, when he re-enacted in his bedroom his combat with the man who had insulted her" (II 76).

3. Typical comments : Clare's "response after she reveals that she has murdered Alec is only a 'tenderness' which dominates him" (Schweik 18). Clare no longer imposes "moral judgement" on Tess (Hyman 138). "He has become in fact what Tess had seen in him from the first" (Hyman 139). In Brazil, Angel undergoes "a process of purification" (Chandra 161). "Angel becomes at the end an accomplished humanist.... and treats Tess with extreme kindness and love" (Chandra 162). The Brazil journey shows Clare "repenting of his ill-treatment" of Tess (Sherman 151).

4. Rothstein is discussing the fact that the narcissist's sense of perfection requires not only that the ego-ideal (ideal self) be perfect but also that the "object" (e.g., Tess) be perfect (18). (There is no discussion of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in the passage cited).

5. Chasseguet-Smirgel is discussing not Hardy but the "ego that has lost its capacity for self-evaluation"—as in Clare's case.

6. "The sun does not need to die in order to descend into hell; it can reach the ocean or the lake of the lower waters and cross it without being dissolved" (Cirlot 303). Cirlot's source is Mircea Eliade's *Tratado de historia de las religiones*. Madrid, 1954.

WORKS CITED

Becker, Ernest. *The Denial of Death*. New York : The Free Press 1973.

Escape from Evil. New York : The Free Press, 1975.

Brooks, John R. *Thomas Hardy : The Poetic Structure*. New York : Cornell University Press, 1971.

Brown, Norman O. *Life Against Death : The Psychoanalytic Meaning of History*. New York : Random House, 1959.

Casagrande, Peter J. *Unity in Hardy's Novels : Repetitive Symmetries*. Lawrence : The Regents Press of Kansas, 1982.

Chandra, Jagdish Dave. *The Human Predicament in Thomas Hardy's Novels*. Englewood Cliffs : Humanities Press International, 1985.

Chasseguet-Smirgel, Janine. *The Ego-Ideal : A Psychoanalytic Essay on the Malady of the Ideal*. Trans. Paul Barrows. New York : W.W. Norton & Company, 1985.

Cirlot, J.E. *A Dictionary of Symbols*. Trans. Jack Sage. New York : Philosophical Library, 1962.

Eustice, Andrew. *Thomas Hardy : Landscapes of the Mind*. New York : St. Martin's Press, 1979.

Freud, Sigmund. *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*. Trans. Alan Tyson. New York : W.W. Norton, 1960.

Gregory, Richard L., ed. *The Oxford Companion to The Mind* Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1987.

Hardy, Thomas. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. 2 vols. London : Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1919.

Hyman, Virginia R. *Ethical Perspectives in the Novels of Thomas Hardy*. London : Kennikat Press, 1975.

Jasovic-Gasic, Miroslava, and Vesel, Josif. "Fear of Death and Narcissism." *Psychology Today* IV (1981) : 369-372. (Published in Prague).

Kozicki, Henry. "Myths of Redemption in Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles." Language and Literature : A Journal for Scholars and Critics of Language and Literature* 10 (1974) : 150-158.

Kramer, Dale. *Thomas Hardy : The Forms of Tragedy.* Detroit : Wayne State University, 1975.

Laplanche, J., and Pontalis, J.-B. *The Language of Psycho-Analysis.* Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York : W.W. Norton, 1973.

Lasch, Christopher. *The Culture of Narcissism : American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations.* New York : W.W. Norton & Company, 1978.

May, Rollo, *Love and Will.* New York : W.W. Norton & Company, 1969.

Millgate, Michael. *Thomas Hardy : A Biography.* New York : Random House, 1982.

Rothstein, Arnold. *The Narcissistic Pursuit of Perfection* Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1974.

Schwick, Robert C. "Moral perspective in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles." College English* 24 (1962) : 13-18.

Sherman, G.W. *The Pessimism of Thomas Hardy.* London : Associated Universities Press, 1976.

Tanner, Tony. "Colour and Movement in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles." Hardy : The Tragic Novels.* Ed. R.P. Draper. London : The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1975.

Unamuno de, Miguel. *The Tragic Sense of Life* trans. J.E. Crawford Flitch. New York : Dover Publications, 1954.

Waldoff, Leon. "Psychological Determinism in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles." Critical Approaches to Fiction.* Ed. Dale Kramer. New York : Barnes and Noble, 1979.

Wright, Terrence. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles.* New Jersey : Humanities Press International, 1987.

LIFE AND ART IN HEMINGWAY'S *THE GARDEN OF EDEN*

Bhim S. Dahiya

Although published twenty five years after his death, Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden* was written during the later years of his life (1946-1961) alongside the writing of *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) and *Islands in the Stream* (1970). Like the other two, *The Garden of Eden* can also be called a sea novel, having sea as the master symbol. While Hemingway's novels like *A Farewell to Arms, For Whom The Bell Tolls,* and *Across The River and into the Trees* have river as the central symbol, these three are marked by the dominating presence of the sea. Also, while the flowing river carries with it the haunting sense of the flux of life, the sprawling sea generates a more quiet mood of contemplation about man's place in the larger universe.

David Bourne, the hero of *The Garden of Eden,* is, of course, much younger in age-he is in his twenties—than Santiago or Thomas Hudson. However, in his poise of mind, his power of endurance, and his dedication to his profession of writing, he is closer to these later heroes than to Frederic Henry, Jake Barnes, and Robert Jordan. Named David, and presented as newly married, the hero of *The Garden of Eden* should look like his namesake in *Islands in the Stream*—Hudson's younger son. On the contrary, he looks like Thomas Hudson himself, weathering the storm of his failing marriage and writing superb prose about his childhood experiences with his father. While the Hemingway hero right from Nick Adams to Thomas Hudson has always been an artist, it is only in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" and more so in *Islands in The Stream* and *The Garden of Eden* that his life as artist is made the focus of the work. In one sense, *The Garden of Eden* is very close to "The Snows of Kilimanjaro"—in both, while the hero is a committed artist, the woman he has married acts as a contrary force to art, pulling the artist in the opposite direction.

Although David Bourne should belong, in the chronological life of the Hemingway hero, somewhere between Frederick Henry and Jake Barnes, in terms of his mental and artistic growth he is in the proximity of Thomas Hudson. He is unmistakably the famous Hemingway hero having strong affinity with his outdoor-loving father :

> All your father found he found for you too, he thought, the good,

> the wonderful, the bad, the very bad, the really very bad, the truly bad and then the much worse. It was a shame a man with such a talent for disaster and for delight should have gone the way he went, he thought. It always made him happy to remember his father and he knew his father would have liked this story.[1]

Also, like the other Hemingway heroes, David has had the experience of war, which as usual, is recalled only obliquely : "We drank it at the mess like wine in the war," tells David to Madame Aurol (p. 167). Another time, he makes a slightly more elaborate reference to his having been in a big war : "he tightened his own discipline as conscientiously as he would have worked in the old days with the mechanic and the armorer going over the plane, the engine, and his guns" (p. 224). Also like the other Hemingway heroes, David is fond of reading newspapers and magazines, which he regularly buys and reads while eating in the Cafes or bars : "Finally with the heavy notes buttoned into his jacket pocket he came out into the glare again and stopped at the newsstand to buy the English and American papers that had come in on the morning Sud Express. He bought some bullfight weeklies to wrap the English language papers in and then walked down . . ." (p. 58). And a little later, "he took the Paris editions of *The New York Herald*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *London Daily Mail* down with him to the bar of the hotel . . ." (p. 59). Fond of the outdoor games like swimming, fishing and hunting, David shares with his counterparts in the Hemingway cannon his love for the green hills of Africa. In fact, most stories that he writes during the course of the novel's action relate to his early experiences of hunting with his father in the jungles of Africa.

> He did not sleep for a long time. When he did he had dreams of Africa. They were good dreams until the one that woke him. He got up then and went direct from that dream to work. He was well into the new story before the sun came up out of the sea and he did not look up from where he was to see how red the sun was. In the story he was waiting for the moon to rise and he felt his dog's hair rise under his hand as he stroked him to be quiet and they both watched and listened as the moon came up and gave them shadows . . . They did not see him until the dog turned his head and seemed to settle into David. Then the elephant's shadow covered them and he moved past making no noise at all and they smelled him in the light wind that came down from the mountain. (p. 159).

Continuing the story of the elephant hunt, the writer hero recalls how they were following "the spoor of the elephant on an old elephant trail that was a hard packed worn road through the forest. It looked as though elephants had travelled it ever since the lava had cooled from the mountain and the trees had first grown tall and close. Juma was very confident and they moved fast. Both his father and Juma seemed very sure of themselves and the going on the elephant road was so easy that Juma gave him the .303 to carry as they went on through the broken light of the forest" (p. 179).

Again, in line with the other Hemingway heroes, David is an American expatriate—this time in France—having no permanent home and moving from one hotel to another. David Bourne is on a honeymoon trip in France living almost exclusively with his wife Catherine until they are joined by Marita, a French national and a total stranger to the couple, whose arrival marks the beginning of the end of the marital life of the lovers. Although the Hemingway hero has generally been a writer, it is in the case of David Bourne that his occupatin of writing has been made the central concern of the novel. While Jake Barnes and Thomas Hudson are also artists, the primary focus of the novels in which they appear is not their professional occupation. After "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," it is only in *The Garden of Eden* that we have the writer as hero; in the other works, it is the hero as writer, and it is his heroism in life, not in literature, which forms the main focus of these works.

David's being a married man once again exposes the critical blespheme in Hemingway that his heroes are essentially "men without women." It is necessary to recall here the central figures in Hemingway's works who are not "men without women." The protagonists in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber," *To Have and Have Not, Islands in the Stream,* and *The Garden of Eden* are all married people, some of them more than once. That their marriages may not have been successful is another matter. They are certainly not the type of persons who would feel happy without women. On the contrary, they are, one and all, great lovers of women. Of course, they are not Romeos, but they do give due importance to women.

David Bourne's honeymooning with his wife Catherine and their affairs with Marita being the exclusive focus of the novel's action, *The Garden of Eden* joins the company of such novels in the Hemingway cannon as are more lyrical than dramatic. "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," "The Old Man and the Sea, and *The Garden of Eden* are all lyrical; they are marked by an intensity and compactness of a minor classic. While "The Snows" is a long short story, the other two are novelets. Having just two or three persons meriting the nomenclature of character, these works are characterized by compact action, intense emotion, and distilled prose. The action, imagery, and tone are all blended into one complete whole in all of these three works, and as such they can be legitimately grouped with such minor classics as Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* or Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*.

Divided into four Books, quite like the four acts of drama, *The Garden of Eden* is compactly constructed with a beginning, a middle, and an ending. Although the novel, as the publishers' note says, "was not in finished form," and the publishers "have made some cuts in the manuscript and some routine copy-editing corrections," the novel in its published form is superbly constructed with the neat observance of the neo-classical principle of the three unities. Quite in line with the famous Hemingway openings, *The Garden of Eden* begins with a short paragraph having indefinite pronouns for the central characters and definite nouns for the specific location of the action :

> THEY WERE LIVING at Le Grau du Roi then and the hotel was on a canal that ran from the walled city of Aigues Mortes straight down to the sea. They could see the towers of Aigues Mortes across the low plain of the Camargue and they rode there on their bicycles at some time of nearly every day along the white road that bordered the canal. In the evenings and the mornings when there was a rising tide sea bass would come into it and they would see the mullet jumping wildly to escape from the bass and watch the swelling bulge of the water as the bass attacked. (p. 3).

Introducing the anonymous 'they', soon to be made known as the newly married lovers, the chief actors in the drama, and the sea, where the lovers swim and fish and the fishermen do their professional work, the novelist depicts the drama of life with the lovers enjoying the daily rides on their bicycles and "the mullets jumping wildly to escape from the bass." Obviously, while the joy-ride is a temporary phenomenon, the struggle for existence seems a permanent activity.

Gradually unfolding the specifics of the novel's action and of the characters involved therein, Hemingway sets up his familiar opposition between the near and the far, the home and the not-home, the small clean-well-lighted place and the large, unlighted surroundings, the small well-knit society and the large, indifferent world.

> . . . They drank aperitifs in the cafe on the corner facing the sea and watched the sails of the mackerel fishing boats out in the Gulf of Lions. It was late in the spring and the mackerel were running and fishing people of the port were very busy. It was a cheerful and friendly town and the young couple liked the hotel, which had four rooms upstairs and a restaurant and two billiard tables downstairs facing the canal and the light-house. The room they lived in looked like the painting of Van Gogh's room at Arles except there was a double bed and two big windows and you could look out across the water and the marsh and sea meadows to the white town and bright beach of Palavas. (pp-3-4)

The secluded married couple in a lonely hotel room surrounded by a friendly town and then by the vast sea constitute the setting of the novel. Like a town or people in a romantic lyric, all the people and places in *The Garden of Eden* are reduced to a sort of mute landscape. Although the landscape provides a larger back-ground of life in general, including the modern warships and airplanes, it is not an active participant in the novel's action. Like the landscape in a romantic lyric, the outside world in *The Garden of Eden* acts only as an object of reflection or contemplation for the chief characters; it has no share in the novel's action or in the development of its plot.

David and Catherine Bourne greatly resemble Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, "who figured importantly in *Parties* (1930) as David and Rilda Westlake. 'They cling to each other like barnacles cling to rocks,' says one of their friends. 'But they want to hurt each other all the time to test their feeling.' The public performances of these two were retold in the fiction of the time . . ."[2] David and Catherine may not be deliberately hurting each other in the beginning, they do reach that stage in the later part of the novel. Besides, Catherine's being a rich girl with domineering attitude towards her husband does remind us of Zelda—wife of Hemingway's close friend, Scott Fitzgerald—whom Hemingway always considered responsible for ruining Scott as an artist. When differences crop up between David and Catherine, she shows off her riches in order to humiliate David, and hurts his pride as an artist. She burns his manuscripts and wants to compensate him by making payment for the destroyed writings.

> "Are you going to see your lawyers in Paris ?" he asked.
>
> "If I have any business with them. I usually see my lawyers. Just because you don't have any lawyers doesn't mean everyone else doesn't have to see their lawyers. Do you want my lawyers to do anything for you ?"

"No," David said. "Fuck your lawyers."

"Do you have plenty of money ?"

"I'm quite all right on money."

"Really, David ? Weren't the stories worth a lot ? It's bothered me terribly and I know my responsibility. I'll find out and do exactly what I should."

"You'll what ?"

"Do exactly what I should."

"Just what is it you propose to do ?"

"I'll have their value determined and I'll have twice that paid into your bank." (p. 226)

As usual though, even if Catherine seems to have been modelled after Zelda, she is made decidedly different from her original as required by the exegencies of the novel's plot, which in itself is an autonomous whole.

David and Catherine are shown living in the modern counterpart of the mythic Garden of Eden—a French countryside around the coastal town of Palavas. As usual, the title of the novel is partly genuine and partly ironic. Like "A Farewell to Arms," "The Sun Also Rises," and "For whom The Bell Tolls," the title "The Garden of Eden" is derived from a literary and mythic source relating to a world altogether different from the one described in the novel. While the state of happiness symbolised by the "Garden of Eden" melaphor is to a degree also available to the modern couples like David and Catherine, it cannot compare with the total unselfconsciousness, or complete innocence of Adam and Eve. Similarly, while total freedom in the Garden of Eden leads to Eve's vulnerability to Evil, Catherine's modern permissiveness also leads to a similar vulnerability to the evils of incest, homosexuality, and perversion. The end result in both the cases is the loss of innocence or the loss of happiness. In striking a parallel between the mythic situation and its modern counterpart in the novel, Hemingway has also made the title ironic in that Catherine's craze for experiencing the unnatural sounds mock-heroic compared to Eve's genuine eagerness of knowledge. The comparison here has all those dimensions that the similar comparisons have in T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, with the only difference that while Eliot's outlook is rabidly religious, that of Hemingway is rationally humanist.

The beginning of the novel is marked by such carefree activities of the lovers as swimming, drinking, eating, loving and sleeping, which are performed in an almost ritualistic manner. However, the seeds of the final separation of the married lovers can be seen in the very beginning of their honeymooning. Like any other well-constructed work of art, therefore, *The Garden of Eden* contains within its beginning the seeds of its ending. As in any artistic whole, the beginning in Hemingway's novel is elaborated into middle and is culminated into the ending. That the demands of love are going to clash with those of art is edumberated in the very opening of the novel. David is not only a lover but also a committed writer. As is usual in tragedy, the contrary demands of two opposing orders create tension, which leads to tragedy. The cases of Edepoeus, Hamlet and Antony are familiar to us. David, too, is soon caught up in a similar dilemma of choosing between the two, involving tension and loss.

The hero in *The Garden of Eden* has two orders of living—the inner and the outer. While the outer order relates to his life with Catherine and Marita, the inner order relates to his writing of fiction. The two orders are not totally unrelated : Whatever happens in the external order is reacted upon by the internal order in the shape of writing. However, there is an inherent conflict between the two orders : while Catherine in the external order wants complete possession of David, the writing work in the internal order requires total detachment with the outer life. Hence the conflict and tension lead to the final loss and tragedy in the novel.

Although she shares the first name with the heroine of *A Farewell to Arms*, Catherine is closer to Brett Ashley, the heroine of *The Sun Also Rises*. Even though much younger in age than Brett (she is twenty one whereas Brett is thirty five) Catherine is as much "the new woman" of the twenties as is Brett Ashley. Like Brett, she wears male garments and has boy's haircut. Catherine wears the same shirts and shorts that David, her husband, wears : "People did not wear fishermen's shirts then and this girl . . . was the first girl he had ever seen wearing it" (p. 6). As for the shorts, which both David and Catherine wear, it "was regarded as an eccentricity by foreigners rather than attempt against the morality of the ports of the Camargue" (p. 6). Catherine's "hair was cropped as short as a boy's" (p. 15). Not only does she have boy's haircut, she has them cut exactly like David's : "You told him how you wanted your cut then and I told him to cut mine just the same as yours . . . . He said exactly like yours ? And I said exactly" (pp. 15-16). Like Brett, Catherine is keen to look and behave like a boy because she wants to have the same freedom the boys have in our male-dominated society. So does Catherine desire to have the unlimited freedom of the males : "You see," she said. "That's the surprise. I'm a girl. But now I'm a boy too and I can do anything and anything and anything" (p. 15). And Catherine does everything that comes to her head. She starts calling David her Catherine, her girl, her wife. Not only that. She starts playing the male in their sexual intercourses. Later, she brings another girl for herself. She loves Marita like a boy loves a girl. She also forces Marita in David's life. She compels David to accept Marita also as his girl. She even divides the days of the week between Marita and herself for sleeping with David. Eccentricities abound. She runs amuck with the total freedom of the modern permissiveness. Consequently, she brings about the inevitable disaster.

To begin with, David and Catherine are very happy. So much so that David temporarily forgets even the internal order of his life; that is, his occupation of writing.

> It had been wonderful and they had been truly happy and he had not known that you could love anyone so much that you cared about nothing else and other things seemed inexistent. He had many problems when he married but he had thought of none of them here nor of writing nor of anything but being with this girl whom he loved and was married to and he did not have a sudden deadly clarity that had always come after intercourse. (p. 13)

Catherine's desire to become what she is not—a boy— makes her behave unnaturally. She indulges in all sorts of eccentricities, which make David fear about their future : "But he was very worried now and he thought what will become of us if things have gone this wildly and this dangerously and this fast ? What can there be that will not burn out in a fire that rages like that ? We were happy and I am sure she was happy. But who ever knows ?" (p. 21). And very soon the fears come true. She soon becomes jealous of his reputation as a writer and starts hating him and his writings :

> "So make your own, you clipping reader," she said.
>
> "What was that ?" the young man said to her.
>
> "I didn't say it."
>
> "But she had said it and he said to her, "Why don't you just shut up about the clippings."
>
> "Why ?" she said, leaning toward him and speaking too loudly. "Why should I shut up ? Just because you wrote this

morning ? Do you think I married you because you're a writer ? You and your clippings." (p. 39)

Thus, the conflict begins in the very beginning of the novel, and it keeps taking a serious turn. Along with the start of the conflict begin the seasonal rains. All along the deepening of the conflict between the married lovers, it keeps raining—a familiar symbol of danger and disaster in Hemingway, used most elaborately in *A Farewell to Arms*. Even as the outer order begins to crumble David begins to take shelter in the inner order. As his marital or love life begins to get strained, he starts seeking satisfaction in his act of writing. David "found his notebook and pencils and the sharpener and sat at the table by the window that looked out over the estuary of the river to Spain. He started to write and he forgot about Catherine and what he saw from the window and the writing went by itself as it did with him when he was lucky" (p. 42). As the conflict further deepens, the rains are replaced by the storms; the three-day blow takes over like it does in Hemingway's short story "The Three-Day Blow," which, too, portrays the end of love, the separation of lovers : "It WAS THE THIRD DAY of the wind but it was not as heavy now and he sat at the table and read the story over from the start to where he had left off, correcting as he read. He went on with the story, living in it and nowhere else, and when he heard the voices of the two girls outside he did not listen" (p. 107).

To mark the "end of something"—as in Hemingway's story with that title—Marita is introduced in the action at a point that can be called the beginning of the middle of the novel. She is brought by Catherine herself both for David as well as for herself. The familiar love triangle begins to work thereafter, with the additional complicating factor of the unnatural relation between the two girls. Apparently, the three of them continue living together harmoniously, reminding us of John Hawkes's *Blood Dranges* where a married couple and a male friend try to throw away the conventional consciousness about marriage and its sexual sanctity, and try to acquire a kind of innocence comparable to that availabe in the pre-civilized state of human society. Actually, the three of them are not living happily. The strains increase every day. The conflict deepens. As Catherine moves more and more away from David, Marita moves more and more close to him. As the strain of separation increases, David withdraws into his internal world of writing. The man and the artist in David, as we have noticed from the very beginning of the novel, are inversely related to each other : While the one goes up, the other goes down. As we have more of love making activities in the beginning, there is not much of writing activity done by the hero. But as the "crack" begins, so does begin the activity of writing; so much so that in the later part of the novel, it is largely the activity of writing which we find the hero doing, and in which he is found completely obsorbed, having only superficial relations with the two girls. Of course, Marita gradually replaces Catherine, who finally moves out of David's life, and Marita does give him greater satisfaction than did Catherine because the former remains more docile and less assertive than the latter. And yet, the artist in David comes to claim the better of the hero to such an extent that the outer order of physical life starts looking rather superficial and impermanent compared to the all-absorbing and immortalising activity of writing: "He was completely detached from everything except the story he was writing and he was living in it as he built it" (p. 128). His failure in marital life could not be helped; he knows that he could not be the master there, that he had no control over those with whom he has to share life. However, with his dedication and discipline, he feels, he could acquire control and mastery in the field of writing; it is in this internal order of life that he discovers "a clean well-lighted place" in the midst of the vast surrounding darkness of the external order which he cannot control and master :

> THE SUN WAS BRIGHT now in the room and it was a new day. You better get to work, he told himself. You can't change any of it back. Only one person can change it back and she can't know how she will wake nor if she'll be there when she wakes. It doesn't matter how you feel. You better get to work. You have to make sense there. You don't make any in this other. Nothing will help you. Nor would have ever since it started. (p. 146)

Like the other heroes of the "Sea novels," or the "later" novels of Hemingway, David is rather passive towards women. He cooperates with them. He enjoys love and sex life. He tolerates their eccentricities. But he does not seem to find full absorption of his being in this external form of life. On the other hand, he more easily gets absorbed in his occupation of painting or writing. He seems to have built an inner world, which he protects from the onslaughts of the external world. He builds defenses against the external disturbances, and, like the tortoise, withdraws into the inner cell with hard cover on the exterior.

Like the familiar endings in the Hemingway cannon, *The Garden of Eden* closes on an ironic note. As the action moves from the sunny days of drinking, eating, fishing, swimming and love making to the days of bickering, quarrelling and fighting, leading to the final separation and disillusion, so do the seasons move from the late spring of the opening pages, through the summer of the middle section, leading to the autumn rains and storms of the ending. Love begins, flourish, and is destroyed. Writing, even though destroyed and temporarily lost, remains with him for ever. The novel rightly ends with the hero recalling and recapturing destroyed manuscripts :

> David wrote steadily and well and the sentences that he had made before came to him complete and entire and he put them down, corrected them, and cut them as if he were going over proof. Not a sentence was missing and there were many that he put down as they were returned to him without changing them. By two O'clock he had recovered, corrected and improved what it had taken him five days to write originally. He wrote on a while longer now and there was no sign that any of it would ever cease returning to him intact. (p. 247)

Thus, the burnt stories are recovered and, in fact, improved; art is not destroyed by the "destroyer," as Catherine calls herself (p. 5). Catherine is certainly lost to him, and he to her. Although he gets the replacement of her in Marita, he can never really eradicate the hurt and the loss that he has experienced. In Hemingway, man is generally broken by life. However, what is more important in life is to try to get stronger at the broken places. That is precisely what David does. Out of the "ruins of love" he emerges a stronger man and a superior artist. Thus, Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden* is like a dramatic lyric having intensity and wholeness of the highest order, but lacking the range and variety of the epic or the full-length novel. Obviously, it has structural affinity with Hemingway's other minor works like *The Old Man and The Sea,* "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," and "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber." Although artistically superior to some of the writer's major novels like *Islands in the Stream* and *Across The River and into the Trees,* these works certainly look minor (even if they are classics in their own right) compared to such achievements of the writer as *The Sun Also Rises, A Farewell to Arms* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls.* No doubt, the new Hemingway publication does not compel any change in our opinion of the writer's merit as a novelist, the novel will certainly exist in its own right, and impart to the reader a pleasure of its own. Also, although the novel is of no consequence in the study of the development of the Hemingway hero, it will enjoy great significance in the growth of Hemingway's art. Both in terms of the maturity of understanding and the architecturing of prose style the novel will always occupy an important place in the Hemingway cannon.

REFERENCES

1. Ernest Hemingway; *The Garden of Eden* (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), p. 129. Subsequent references to the novel are from this edition and are indicated by page numbers only.
2. See Frederick J. Hoffman's *The 20's; American Writing in The Postwar Decade* (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1962), pp. 121-22.

F.R. LEAVIS, *SCRUTINY* AND 'THE GREAT TRADITION'

Asha S. Kanwar

The *Scrutiny* enterprise, spearheaded by F.R. Leavis, saw itself in the thirties as an *avant-garde* oppositional movement which challenged the Establishment—Cambridge University, and the literary press on a range of issues, the chief being the lack of seriousness hitherto attributed to English studies. It is important that at that time, Leavis and *Scrutiny* were not as central as they have subsequently become. The *Scrutiny* position in no sense occupied the central place within the discipline that it came to command in the post-war period. For while it not only had the upper hand in the lively and uncompromising debate that it engaged in with the thirties Marxists, it also managed to outlive the decade, lasting well into the fifties. By the 1940's, *Scrutiny* and Leavis were established well enough to exert an almost institutional influence. Leavis's pupils were dispersed all over Britain and a sort of Leavisite hegemony took over the practice of literary criticism. The post-war generation believed that the study of literature would exert a humanizing influence, an assumption called into question by George Steiner who points out that 'literary values and the utmost of hideous inhumanity could co-exist in the same community, in the same individual sensibility . . . .'[1]

In spite of the pluralism of literary critical discourses, Leavisism came to stand for a kind of meta-discourse which has been challenged from time to time by New Criticism, structuralism, a variety of marxisms and more recently, deconstruction but has not yet been displaced completely as a central reference point within English literary criticism. The trajectory of its influence has not only been temporal but spatial as well, for it has spread well beyond English frontiers and shaped the course of English studies all over the Anglophone world. This paper includes a brief survey of the history of *Scrutiny*, in the sense of what gave rise to this quarterly journal and sustained it over twenty-one years of its existence, the range of interests it covered and what factors contribute to its lasting influence.

Leavis relates the inception of *Scrutiny* in 1932 specifically to its Cambridge milieu. The first editors were L.C. Knights and D.W. Harding who were subsequently joined by F.R. Leavis and Denys

Thompson. But to the modern reader, *Scrutiny* evokes associations primarily with Leavis and the main reason for this can be attributed to the fact that gradually the other editors dispersed to various parts of the country, leaving F.R. and Q.D. Leavis to keep the journal going at Cambridge. The roots of *Scrutiny* can be traced back to Edgell Rickword's *The Calendar of Modern Letters,* a journal that folded up in the last years of the previous decade. Both journals shared a similar theme, that is, focusing attention on the disrupting influences of science on the cultural values of the time and suggest a solution to the current crisis by setting up 'literature as the new repository of moral values and, therewith, literary criticism as the privileged arbiter of social thought'.[2] Thus literature is taken not only as an academic discipline, but as a social and moral force that would aid in disseminating the finer values of life in a basically sterile and bankrupt society. This attitude is in close alignment with the best traditions of the Victorian belief that has come to be associated with Mathew Arnold. Leavis lays a great deal of stress on 'moral values' throughout his work but, as J.M. Bamborough points out :

> . . . he never comes out into the open and states with these are; it is not even easy to deduce them, beyond a vague sense of seriousness, 'maturity' and reverence towards life.[3]

Literary criticism is not the only discourse to be found within the pages of *Scrutiny*. Articles covered various subjects like education, advertising, ballet, architecture, politics, economics and arts, among other. Contributors like Wilfrid Mellers wrote brilliant criticism of music whereas Q.D. Leavis criticized cinema for its disruptive influence on traditional working-class culture. (In fact, this mistrust of contemporary art forms is one of the major weaknesses of the *Scrutiny* position). As Leavis pointed out in the Manifesto, besides publishing articles on literature and the arts, *Scrutiny* would deal with 'various significant aspects of contemporary life'[4]. To begin with, *Scrutiny* was as good as its word, keeping an open forum to accommodate varying viewpoints. For instance, it carried reviews by Auden and Edmund Blunden (member of what was later designated 'the Gang'). Gradually however, the moment passed and in trying to combat the insistent pressures of Marxist ideology during the thirties, *Scrutiny* attitudes came to be associated with a particular ideology that became its specific creed. While not wishing to be labelled, Leavis grudgingly concedes that the *Scrutiny* position could be termed 'liberal' in that it stood for the promotion of a 'humane tradition.'[5]

Scrutiny's main bone of contention with Left writing was its tendency to subordinate culture to economic and political considerations. A.L. Morton, a Left historian, tried to conciliate Leavis (without any success), by pointing out that the cultural objectives of *Scrutiny* and of socialism were the same.[6] This is not to deny the Marxist element within *Scrutiny,* for example, L.C. Knights, though this influence disappeared in 1937 when Marxism in any case, was retreating at all levels. In a bid to remain neutral, *Scrutiny* held a symposium, in accordance with readers' demands in 1939, entitled 'The Claims of Politics,' featuring eight intellectuals. Though overtly anti-capitalist, it never took to socialism. It aimed for a communism of a wider kind, that is, an 'organic community,' for as Leavis claimed that 'what has disintegrated is not merely 'bourgeois' or 'capitalist' civilization, it is the organic community'.[7]

The 'organic community' referred to was a past rural community based on natural laws and certain social values that had been destroyed with the advent of industrialization. The 'homogeneous society' was now irretrievable though both Leavis and Thompson asserted that keeping the memory of the old order would prove helpful in achieving a new one.[8] This nostalgia for the lost order has laid *Scrutiny* open to censure from various quarters, Kenneth Trodd calls it its 'ideological weak-spot'[9]. In *The Country and The City,* Williams dismisses it as a pastoral myth while Terry Eagleton calls it 'reactionary'.[10]

In *Scrutiny's* view, politics and the arts do not mix. In the essay 'Retrospect of a Decade', Leavis recalls that 'the kind of political distraction that characterized the decade was very bad for creative work.'[11] It is the common critical view that the Left fiction of the period was marred by excessive propaganda. On the other hand, the poetry of Spender, Day-Lewis and Auden cannot be rejected as propaganda alone. *Scrutiny* is sometimes guilty of dismissing works of value on the grounds of their Left affiliations and setting up third-rate poems. This tendency towards prejudice rather than discrimination is extended to the evaluation of contemporary literature. Virginia Woolf and Joyce are criticized and though Forster's *A Passage to India* is praised, it is with reservations, for its weaknesses are related to its Bloomsbury connections.

In fact, *Scrutiny* generally gives the impression of having a negative attitude especially in relation to the theory and practice of those who did not share its views. This can be attributed to the oppositional role that was thrust upon the 'Scrutineers' on account of academic dispossession. While on the one hand, they represented the disinherited minority, on the other, because of their vast influence, they managed to appear like the very elite they were opposing. As Eagleton perceptively points out, there is an 'inherent contradiction' in their position.[12]

Discarding political commitment as the solution to contemporary problems, *Scrutiny* emphasized the 'need to establish a criterion of seriousness' [13] and hoped to achieve its effect by bringing about reform in the educational system. A constant theme throughout its career was:

> . . . the belief that education, a potentially 'humanizing' activity, was at present complicit with the 'economic process'; that it should be reformed as a centre of opposition to the latter; and that in this effort, the role of literary training was paramount.[14]

Education must be made democratic and hence accessible to a Carlylean 'aristocracy of talent' rather than to the privileged few. This concern for revolutionizing education goes back to another distinguished Cambridge don Hector Chadwick and to Matthew Arnold before him. In critical heritage and cultural concerns, Leavis seems to be a direct descendant of Arnold.[15] Leslie Stephen is also acknowledged by Q.D. Leavis as one of his precursors.

The hallmark of Leavisian criticism is literary integrity. By displacing the claims of politics and dismissing the influence of 'external general systems' like psychoanalysis, theology or philosophy, he aimed 'to vindicate literary criticism as a distinct and separate discipline'.[16] He popularized practical criticism of the 'words on the page' kind as advocated by I.A. Richards. Leavis dismissed the value-free approach of traditional academic scholarship where the primary concern was with the establishing of 'facts' on empirical grounds. The Leavises opposed both 'positivist or speculative concerns'[17] in literary studies and called for authentic critical judgement, which Mulhern describes as :

> The typical gesture of Leavisian criticism . . . was *recognition* . . . and where appropriate, affirmation of what was immanent in the concrete literary word. This criticism was therefore, a form of intuitionism: specifically, it was considered in *the intuition of moral values in literary experience.*[18]

While theoretically Leavis dismisses the claims of positivist and speculative concerns, his own methodology is a blend of both. It is this contradiction that makes it difficult to categorize Leavis's critical practice.

In order to read poetry, Leavis suggests a procedure saying that 'Words in poetry invite us not to 'think about' and judge but to 'feel into' or 'become'—'realize a complex experience' that was 'given in the words.'[19] The critic must evaluate the piece before him sensitively and ask the questions 'Where does this come ? How does this stand in relation to . . . ? How relatively important does this seem'.[20] There should be no given norms according to which a piece is to be evaluated, Leavis was willing to concede that after a set of particular judgements has been made, it was possible to deduce norms from them but such generalizations hardly had any significance in criticism for they encouraged rigidity and mechanical reading. In his own hands, Leavis's critical evaluations are genuine, and flexible but are they a viable critical tool ?

The critic belongs to the 'small minority' who find in the arts a 'respository of human values' and it is for this reason that there 'is a necessary relationship between the quality of the individual's response to art and his general fitness for a humane existence'.[21] Thus criticism is not an end in itself but a means to an end. By training sensibility and intelligence it has a specific function to perform and must aim to reach as wide a readership as possible. However, despite Leavis's best efforts, the *Scrutiny* enterprise remained restricted to an 'informed critical minority' perhaps on account of its academic base.

During the thirties, *Scrutiny* concentrated mainly on discussions of poetry while the novel and drama were relatively marginalized. It was only after 1940, that the balance tilted in favour of the novel and Leavis's essays on George Eliot, Henry James and Joseph Conrad, which had been published in *Scrutiny*, were compiled in *The Great Tradition* (1948). The shift in emphasis is related by Mulhern to the fact that only when the possibility of developing political affiliations had been discounted that *Scrutiny* could 'turn to . . . the novel'.[22]

It is interesting to note that Q.D. Leavis, the principal collaborator of F.R. Leavis in his literary career, had a hand in formulating the unifying introduction to *The Great Tradition*. As she herself tells Nora Crook in an interview :

> When my husband showed me the first draft for my comments, I said: 'It needs a first chapter to set the whole thing off'. He agreed but he hadn't the time to write it, so I said I would. He then rewrote it—putting things the way he would write . . . so that the

> styles matched. And the footnotes were mine too.[23]

This is not to denigrate the work of F.R. Leavis but to draw attention to the extent of the collaborative enterprise. It is perhaps for this reason that he did not give a detailed exposition of Jane Austen in his introductory chapter, for Q.D. Leavis had dealt with her fully under the heading 'The Critical Theory of Jane Austen'. This is not to suggest that the views of the two critics are interchangeable. For while *Wuthering Heights* is regarded as a 'sport' by Leavis, Q.D. Leavis has made it a subject of a lecture at Harvard and Cornell in 1966 called 'A Fresh Approach to *Wuthering Heights*'.

A study of *The Great Tradition* alone may lead to the impression that Leavis is a shade too eclectic in his re-drawing of the novelistic canon. His later publications, however, prove that his tradition could be broadly categorized as 'the English novel from Dickens to Lawrence', (though it should be pointed out that there are basic differences between the traditions of Williams and Leavis). Leavis's 'tradition' extends as in the case of Dickens, who is seen as primarily an entertainer in *The Great Tradition,* but is later vindicated in a book-length study entitled *Dickens, The Novelist* (1970) and declared as equal in stature with Shakespeare. Lawrence is similarly canonized in the study *D.H. Lawrence, Novelist* (1955).

The Great Tradition opens with the announcement that 'The great English novelists are Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James and Joseph Conrad . . . (*TGT* p. 9). These writers have been short-listed on the basis of the fact that :

> . . . They not only change the possibilities of art for practitioners and readers, but they are significant in terms of the human awareness they promote; awareness of the possibilities of life.(*TGT* p. 2).

Leavis further points out that 'to be important historically, is not, of course, to be necessarily one of the significant few'(*TGT,* p.3). It is these 'significant few' that constitute the tradition which is being threatened by the increasing industrialization of society. As Leavis and Denys Thompson put it :

> What we have lost is the organic community with the living culture it embodied. Folk songs, folk dances . . . an art of life, a way of living . . .

Hence the survival of a literary tradition becomes all the more important since 'the continuity of consciousness, the conservation of the collective experience is the more dependent on it.'[25] Only novels of distinction can be included in the 'tradition' and writers aspiring to greatness must be, to put it rather simply, innovators in form and must possess a profoundly serious interest in life (*TGT*, p. 18). The tradition of the English novel begins with Jane Austen, who 'exemplifies beautifully the relations of 'the individual talent' to tradition'. (*TGT*, p. 5). The idea of tradition here has close affiliations with T.S. Eliot's theory that the individual is not only part of the tradition, but, however subtly, alters it. While Leavis agreed with Eliot on this score, he rejected the idea of 'impersonality,' according to which Eliot implies that the poet should submit to the objective demands of tradition and to 'certain imputed characteristics of poetic production, in which 'the man who suffers' and 'the man which creates' were ideally 'distinct'. [26]

By focusing attention on *The Great Tradition,* some of the basic components of Leavis's fictional theory like 'language', 'morality and the novel', 'affirmation of life' and the 'novel as dramatic poem' will not be discussed. Referring to Blake in his lecture at the London School of Economics, Leavis says :

> His individuality has developed in terms of the language, with the ways of experiencing as well as of experience, that it involves. The mind and sensibility that he has to express are of the language.[27]

Instead of looking for direct social evidence in the manner of Taine, Leavis regards language as an aspect of the social nature of the individual. In this, Leavis was greatly influenced by C.H. Rickword's 'Notes on Fiction' in *The Calendar*. Mulhern points out that for Rickword, to speak of 'character', 'situation' and 'incident' was to misconceive the very nature of the novel—for the novel is basically an art of language. According to Leavis, 'literary study . . . means a study of the words and their order'.[28] The aesthetic value of a novel did not depend on its 'knowledge of human nature' but on the 'rhythmic coherence' that arose out of 'the writer's conception of life and the adequacy thereto of his vehicle'.[29] For instance, in *The Great Tradition* Leavis uses this approach, quoting long passages from texts and analysing the verbal texture closely. But linguistic dexterity is not the sole criterion for Leavis, in whose work there is a close juxtaposition of the moral and the aesthetic. The form of the novel is moulded by the moral preoccupations of the author. But moral criticism cannot be substituted for literary criticism as Leavis implies when referring to T.S. Eliot's criticism—It is only by demonstrating convincingly that his application of moral principles leads to a more adequate criticism'[30] that he can justify its use.

In *The Great Tradition*, however, the main criteria of greatness in novelists are their 'vital capacity for experience, a kind of reverent openness before life, and a marked moral intensity' (*TGT*, p. 9). By contrasting Flaubert's preoccupation with formal perfection on account of which he falls short of achieved greatness, with Jane Austen's 'moral preoccupations' (*TGT*, p. 8), Leavis seems to be privileging the moral over the aesthetic. David Lodge, however, shifts the emphasis by suggesting that critics should allow the aesthetic experience to control and modify the moral perspective. Though Leavis tries to see the moral and the aesthetic as complementary, yet the emphasis inevitably falls on the moral. Of Jane Austen, Leavis says, 'The vitality of her art is a matter of preoccupation with moral problems . . .' (*TGT*, p. 32). George Eliot is praised on account of her 'profound insight into the moral nature of man' (*TGT*, p. 123), and Henry James's 'clairvoyant moral intelligence' (*TGT*, p. 157) seems to constitute his greatness. As R.P. Bilan points out :

> There can be no significant form apart from this kind of radical moral inquiry into life, and the organization that results—the inclusive scheme—is that of the moral fable or moral pattern.[31]

It is in reference to *Hard Times* that Leavis defines the moral fable, even though *Nostromo, The Secret Agent, The Europeans* and *The Portrait of a Lady* are all described as 'moral fables.' He defines it, saying that :

> . . . in it the intention is peculiarly insistent, so that the representative significance of everything in the fable—character, episode and so on—is immediately apparent as we read. (*TGT*, p. 227).

By 'moral fable,' Leavis does not mean its didactic aspect nor does he mean that a moral essence is deducible from the work of art. For Leavis, 'in a successful work . . . values are not stated but *enacted*...'[32] Q.D. Leavis, in her last public engagement at the Cheltenham Festival Annual Literature Lecture in 1980 stresses the distinction saying that 'the English novel had from its start an essentially and profoundly moral (I don't mean moralistic) framework and intention . . .'[33] Bilan points out that the distinguishing feature of a 'moral fable' is its insistence on 'concentrated, or inclusive significance' and that 'the characters in the novel are limited to their place in this scheme'.[34] The latter is seen as a drawback by Bilan who says that it is the typical way in which Leavis deals with character, that is, referring to the values they represent whereas ideally other dimensions of character must be also explored.

The 'affirmation of life' is the other major concept in Leavis's fictional criticism. The Lawrentian influence is evident from the fact that Leavis quotes approvingly from the former's *Letters* saying, 'one must speak of life and growth amid all this mass of destruction and disintegration' (*TGT*, p. 26). It is not an abstract concept but life as presented in concrete terms. According to Kettle, this concept :

> . . . goes beyond either a descriptive, analytic realism which passively tells not what the existing world is 'like', or a moralistic message which prescribes cures in a way preachers do.[35]

The text of excellence in fiction depends not on the values depicted but on the way the values are enacted and dramatized. The focus is thus on the experience of life communicated by literature. This vitality is a positive quality that Leavis picks out in his assessment of *Hard Times.* Talking of the contrast between Sissy the 'dark eyed and dark-haired' girl and Bitzer 'so unwholesomely deficient in natural tinge' (*TGT*, p. 230). Leavis points out :

> The moral and spiritual terms are rendered here in terms of sensation, so that the symbolic intention emerges out of metaphor and the vivid evocation of the concrete . . . Sissy stands for this vitality as well as goodness . . . she is generous impulsive life . . . (*TGT*, P. 230-1).

But depiction of abundance of life is not the sole criterion of greatness. The 'life' Leavis values 'must be controlled art'.[36] Great art is recognizable by 'the awareness of the possibilities of life' (*TGT*, p. 2) that it engenders as also by the 'human potentialities' (*TGT*, p. 12) that it celebrates. Thus the novelists with a positive attitude to life are elevated to canonical status. But as Bilan rightly points out, this is not to suggest that Leavis is advocating the novel with a happy ending, for even though *The Portrait of a Lady* is tragic, the final result is the affirmation of human values.[37] The problem with this concept arises when Leavis tends to make it the universal criterion of value. For instance he 'struggles' to present Conrad, with reference to *Nostromo,* as an 'affirmer of life'[38] when there are hardly any positive values in it.

This touchstone of 'life affirmation' is brought from the realm of drama to that of the novel. It explains to an extent Leavis's formulation of the novel as a 'dramatic poem'. Leavis designates Henry James a poet-novelist not because of his use of symbolism but because of 'the determining and controlling interests in his art engage what is 'deepest' in him (he being a man of exceptional capacity for experience), appeal to what is deepest in us' (*TGT*, p. 128) Dickens is similarly described on account of 'the possibilities of concentration and flexibility in the interpretation of life such as we associate with Shakespearean drama' (*TGT*, p. 242). In both cases the emphasis is on the capacity to respond to life, to interpret it and finally to transmute it into art with great linguistic expertise.

The other quality that Leavis admired in a writer's craft is his maturity, which is closely tied up with impersonality as opposed to the 'ego' when the writer is unable to distantiate himself from the work of art. This comes across most strongly in the analysis of George Eliot whose work fluctuates 'between the poised impersonal insight of a finely tempered wisdom and something like the emotional confusions and self-importances of adolescence' (*TGT*, p. 75). Leavis's references to a writer's genius link with the Romantic critics (for example, Coleridge) who believed metaphysical inspiration.

Critics of *Scrutiny* generally draw attention to the fact that the 'Scrutineers' assumed the role of the conscience-keepers of public morality in what they termed a 'technologico-Benthamite' (Leavis's phrase) society, based on the query, 'if *Scrutiny* doesn't do something about it, who else is likely to ?'[39] This made them seem authoritarian and closed to other points of view. It resulted in a failure to select and appreciate good contemporary literature for they believed that 'a Fall had taken place round about the end of the 1920's'.[40] It also induced them to take a rather condescending and simplistic view of Marxism, believing that it meant a subordination of the individual to the economic. For as Leavis states :

> . . .though without doubt the human spirit was not to be thought of as expressing itself in a void of 'freedom', unconditioned by economic and material circumstances, nevertheless there was a great need to insist on the element of autonomy and to work for the preservation of the human tradition—a tradition representing the profit of a continuity of experience through centuries of economic and material change.[41]

Leavis criticism often borders on the cryptic and the intuitive. For example, he says :

> Jane Austen, in fact, is the inaugurator of the great tradition of the English novel—and by 'great tradition' I mean the tradition to which what is great in English fiction belongs (*TGT*, p. 7).

This idealist position has called into question the very nature of the validity of practical criticism. According to Williams, it is ;

> ... vulnerable at several points : in its hardening into an apparently objective method which is based, even defiantly, on subjective principles; in its isolation of texts for contexts; in its contemplative aspects which have often made it hostile to new literary work.[42]

However, to be fair to Leavis an examination of the following passage is essential :

> For to insist that literary criticism is, or should be, a specific discipline of intelligence is not to suggest that a serious interest in literature can confine itself to the kind of intensive local analysis associated with 'practical criticism'—to the scrutiny of the 'words on the page' in their minute relations, their effects of imagery and so on; a real interest is an interest in man, society and civilization, and its boundaries cannot be drawn.[43]

Leavis thus reveals the full potential range of his project—one that has often been narrowly interpreted.

The major importance of Leavis lies in the fact that he was able to establish the centrality of English studies whereas previously it had often been regarded as a non-serious discipline to be palmed off on dilletantes and women. Leavis emphasized the fact that 'literary criticism is not a mystic rapture but a process of the intelligence'[44] and that it was not only 'a discipline ... but a social and moral force'.[45] The impact of Leavisism can be traced to an uncompromising and rigorous literary-critical practice. The reason for the success of the 'Scrutineers' can be attributed to the fact that they were single-minded and consistent in their purpose. As Eric Bentley points out :

> While literary people followed the fashion of the decade—cynicism in the 20's, Marxism in the 30's, Existentialism and Crisis Theology in the 40's—*Scrutiny* kept up a steady fire against the cliques, both academic and metropolitan.[46]

Leavis has thus had a great impact on the reading habits of the English-speaking public for 'criticism, when it performs its function, not merely expresses and defines the contemporary sensibility, it helps to form it'.[47] And even if practical criticism now seems 'provincial and etiolated.'

> ... our present and larger critical situation cannot be understood

> except as the outcome of contradictions within its underlying philosophical—or aggressively anti-philosophical position.[48]

A direct offshoot and extension of this position is what is termed 'Left-Leavisism' by Terry Eagleton in connection with his teacher Raymond William's critical practice. In fact, Williams has pointed out that he converged to Leavisism on the basis of his 'cultural radicalism' 'practical criticism' and his 'great stress on education'.[49] 'Left-Leavisism' was an attempt to overcome the weaknesses of the Leavisite and the 'vulgar' Marxist positions. Recognizing this conjuncture, Pechey says that the 'criticism of Arnold Kettle stands as a demonstration that this label may be worn without shame'[51] thus negating the negative connotations linked to the term by Eagleton.

Leavisite criticism came into India via the Cambridge-educated elite that dominated first-generation English studies. Over the years, this liberal humanist perspective has been further consolidated, only to be called into question recently with the influx of more radical critical theories. Nevertheless, no one can dismiss the importance of *Revaluations* and *The Great Tradition* as central statements in poetry and novel criticism. While the Indian critic can benefit from Leavisite insights into textual interpretations, he must be alert to the fact that Leavisism is the product of a different history and culture. Moreover, his notions of 'human nature' and 'life' have essentialist implications. Leavis's call for the revival of an 'organic past' is an obstacle to the adoption of a more progressive philosophy of history. Even so, the general principles of his criticism are useful in that they temper the extremes of Marxist or materialist theories. Nor can the concept of tradition be discarded out of hand, for history does not progress against 'tradition' but against 'decadent' traditions. The continuity of the Leavisite influence will ultimately depend upon how far we can develop his insights towards more culture-specific and non-hierarchical perspectives that can look at the individual-text-society nexus within the specific contexts of literary production as well as of reception.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Language and Silence* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 83.
2. *Moment of Scrutiny* (London : NLB, 1979), p. 18.
3. J.M. Bamborough, 'The Influence of F.R. Leavis', *Spectator*, Oct. 25, 1963, p. 534.
4. F.R. Leavis, '*Scrutiny* : A Revaluation', Eric Bentley (ed.), *The Importance of Scrutiny* (New York : University Press, 1964), p. 4.
5. F.R. Leavis, '*A Retrospect of a Decade, 1940*', *A Selection from Scrutiny Vol. I* (Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 175.

6. Mulhern, pp. 66-7.
7. F.R. Leavis, 'A Serious Artist', *Scrutiny* 1, 2, Sept. 1932, p. 177.
8. Mulhern, pp. 59.
9. Kenneth Trodd, '*Scrutiny* in the 30 's', *The Review,* Nos. 11-12, p. 10.
10. Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology* (London : Verso, 1976), p. 13.
11. 'Retrospect of a Decade', p. 176.
12. Eagleton, p. 15.
13. Denys Thompson, 'What shall We Teach ?', *Scrutiny,* VII, 4 March, 1939, p. 404
14. Mulhern, p. 101
15. Like Arnold, Leavis felt that an educated minority was necessary to safeguard the cultural standards of the nation.
16. F.R. Leavis, *The Common Pursuit* (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1978), p. 212.
17. Mulhern, p. 157.
18. *Ibid.,* p. 171.
19. 'Literary Criticism and Philosophy : A Reply', VI, 1 June, 1937, pp. 60-1.
20. *Ibid.,* p. 61.
21. Mulhern, p. 77. Taken up by Eagleton (1985).
22. Mulhern, p. 218.
23. Nora Crook, 'Tea With Mrs. Leavis', Denys Thompson (ed.), *The Leavises : Recollections and Impressions* (Cambridge : University Press, 1984), p. 129.
24. F.R. Leavis and Denys Thompson, 'Introduction', *Culture and Environment* (London : Chatto and Windus, 1933), p. 1.
25. Mulhern, p. 117.
26. *Ibid.,* p. 132.
27. *The Common Pursuit,* p. 124.
28. Bentley, 'The Importance of *Scrutiny*', in *Walsh.* p. 96.
29. Mulhern, p. 215.
30. The Common Pursuit p.241
31. R.P. Bilan, *The Literary Criticism of F.R. Leavis* (Cambridge : University Press, 1979) p. 124.
32. *Ibid.,* p. 124.
33. Q.D. Leavis, *Collected Essays,* G. Singh (ed.), (Cambridge : University Press, 1983), p. 310.
34. Bilan, p. 119.

35. A. Kettle, 'Lawrence, Leavis and Life', *Marxism Today* Vol. 21, No. 9, Sept. 1977, p. 282.
36. Bilan, p. 119.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
39. Q.D. Leavis, 'Charlotte Yonge and Christian Discrimination' (1944), *A Selection from Scrutiny Vol. I*, p. 159.
40. Cox, '*Scrutiny*: A Revaluation', p. 531.
41. 'Retrospect of a Decade', p. 70.
42. Raymond Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London : Verso, 1980), pp. 17-18.
43. *The Common Pursuit*, p. 200.
44. Q.D. Leavis, 'Leslie Stephen : Cambridge Critic,' *A Selection from Scrutiny Vol. I* p. 25.
45. Bomborough, 'The Influence of F.R. Leavis,' p. 532.
46. Bentley (ed.), *The Importance of Scrutiny*, xxvi.
47. Howard Felperin, *Beyond Deconstruction* (Oxford : Clarendon, 1985), p. 9.
48. R. Williams, *Politics and Letters*, p. 164.
49. Graham Pechey, '*Scrutiny*, English Marxism and the Work of Raymond Williams', *Literature and History*, Vol, 11 : I, Spring 1983, p. 65.

THE AUSTRALIAN NOVEL AND ASIAN SETTINGS —AN INTERVIEW WITH CHRIS KOCH

Alur Janaki Ram

Chris Koch (b. 1932), a well known novelist of Australia, is the first in recent years to have based some of his novels on Asian settings. He visited India in 1955 and again in 1987. **His second novel, *Across the Sea Wall*,** is the outcome of his first visit to India in the 50s. His third novel, *The Year of Living Dangerously,* based on Indonesia and Indian myths, got him more renown and has been screened.

He gave readings from his novels at the India International Centre Delhi on July 2, 1987. He was also present during the workshop on the Australian Novel and the Film held at Dhvanyaloka, Mysore from July 7 to 10. The following interview recorded at Dhvanyaloka, Mysore, in July, 1987 touches on his two visits to India, his attitude towards his craft, the influences on him and other related matters.

Novels by Koch : (1) *Boys in the Island* (1958); *Across the Sea Wall* (1965); *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1978); *The Double Man* (1985).

Ram : For the benefit of Indian readers, could you say something about your present trip ?

Koch : **I was last in India in 1955 as a young man of 22—It's been** something like 32 years which is an extraordinary gap. I must say that India hasn't changed very much; it is true about timeless India. Of course, there is a lot of modernisation, particularly in New Delhi, and the country looks more prosperous. But many things seem to be the same : the national dress, the women in *sarees,* many men still in *dhotis;* and in the countryside people still with bullock carts and working in the fields the way they did. This is rather nice to see because many countries in Asia, particularly places like Singapore, have obliterated their native and folk cultures with such a degree of Western **modernisation that** they no longer seem to have any soul; and I feel the soul of India is quite intact.

Ram : While I was reading your novel *Across the Sea Wall,* I noticed that **you had referred to the beggar menace in Madras. Perhaps,** this time you didn't have the opportunity to travel by land to

Madras. If you had, you would not have found so much poverty that you did in the fifties (50s).

Koch : That's good to know. I think there is a lot of Indian sensitivity about westerners portraying the worst of the poverty in India; and I understand that it must be rather annoying. But you see, when you come from rather sheltered societies, as we did as young Australians–and in those days, we were more prosperous, than now though we are beginning to have our troubles—and when you come from such a society and see the extremes of poverty that one did in Madras, it is extremely shocking. And your conscience is stirred and you think : what can you do about it ? Of course, you can do nothing and so you move around in a state of some conflict. So, I don't apologise for portraying it; one portrays what has been most striking and what creates the most tensions within you.

Ram : It is, probably, our experience too. We also sometimes feel irritated whenever the hands are stretched towards us. Well, let us not discuss that. You have also referred to the heat in the novel. Did you travel in summer in India ?

Koch · Yes, I travelled in mid-summer . . . . I was with a young man Robert Brain who graduated with me from the University of Tasmania. He has now become an anthropologist and a writer himself. We travelled from Australia by ship, as you did in those days; and we met a Sikh, a man called Mahendra Singh, who had graduated from the University of Melbourne and was returning home.

Ram : Does he become Sunder Singh of the novel ? Some traces of him ?

Koch : Some traces perhaps-Well, his position was the same, but I create fictitious characters or I make one character out of two or three; and the only thing that Sunder has in common with Mahendra is the universal situation of an educated Indian coming home and finding that he no longer can quite fit in. That interested me; that he had become very westernised and he grew impatient with certain features of his own society. I don't know whether this happens so much today. So, Robert and I decided to get off the ship at the invitation of Mahendra and go to Delhi to spend some time with him at his parents' home in Delhi; which we did. We travelled a good deal in India. I used those backgrounds, but not the people, for my novel, *Across the Sea Wall.*

Ram : As far as my limited reading of Australian fiction goes, I have a suspicion that you are the first person to turn to Asia. Probably your novel, *Across the Sea Wall,* is one of the few novels, I think the first one, to deal with Indian cities and themes. Am I correct ?

Koch : Yes, I am probably the first Australian to have set a novel in Asia. I was conscious of it at that time, and the strange thing was that at that time it didn't arouse much interest. Many years later, I published a novel called *The Year of Living Dangerously,* set in Indonesia. And that also was one of the very few at that time set in Asia. A great spate of novels followed it; and it somehow hit a nerve; it had come at a time when people wanted it. This was, of course, in the 1970s, in the 1950s, I don't think, they were ready for it.

Ram : **Your distinction is not only that you have made use of the Asian** settings but even the myths of the Asia-Pacific region.

Koch : **It has probably been** done in poetry. But really, I wrote *Across the Sea Wall* quite a few years after having been in India. I had no plans to write a novel set in India at all. It was something like seven years later that I began and I became very interested in Hinduism and in particular, the theme of the Goddess Durga, and all her other manifestations. I had read Heinrich Zimmer,the great German scholar of Indian religion. I read the gospel of Shri Ramkrishna which I found wonderful poetry as well as wonderful mysticism. And so I became more and more absorbed in the figure of Durga and in Hindu cosmology, generally, because it matched my theme : that of a young man adrift in a country and culture he knew nothing about, involved in a woman who was too complex and too difficult for him. And so, to some extent, the woman, Ilsa Kalnin, a Latvian immigrant, came to embody Durga for him. And so all these things came **together**. Writers are magpies; they take things from everywhere.

Ram : I get your point. Ilsa **Kalnin** has something of the mystery of Durga although, of course some people might object that you couldn't regard her as a temptress. Well, I don't think there is any **temptress** element in her. Durga combines the dualities . . . . True there is a bit of Durga in Ilsa. By the way, when you used those names, Kalnin and Carleen, were you conscious of some resemblances between the names ? Durga is also known as Kali.

Koch : Yes, it was a play on the name Kali and Carleen, who is a simple and extremely brutal girl with few redeeming features, is the dark side of the goddess more than Ilsa who isn't meant to be any dark side of the goddess but, simply, the female force—which cannot be fully comprehended by men and which cannot be judged whether good or bad. This was roughly my intention.

Ram : Could you kindly elaborate on what led you to the Indian Myths, the myths as they appear in Indonesia, because to the best of my knowledge no other Australian novelist has made use of Indian Myths the way you have done.

Koch : Yes, I have written an essay—in fact it is in a book of essays that has come out, it is called 'Crossing the Gap —and that is the title essay. I have tried in this essay to deal with this use of Asian mythology and why I have done it and have recalled *Across the Sea Wall* as well as *The Year of Living Dangerously.* The point that I make is : first of all, Australia is no longer, of course, an appendage of Britain. Now we are an Asian Pacific country. And we are going to have to form new myths, and people need myths; and I believe that we belong more or less to the Indo-European world and so India is part of my heritage as well as yours . . . . we are all part of the great Indo-European stream. When I was a child, I read Indian Myths; I read the myths of Rama and Sita as much as I read Greek myths and the Roman myths. So I am really saying: why should we not draw particularly on the *Mahabharata* and other Indian myths as much as we draw on European ?

Ram : Your interest in myths, I think, is very remarkable and unusual among Australian writers. You have mentioned Nirad C. Choudhary in the same essay—an essay which you allowed me to republish in the special number of *RU Studies in English* on Australian Literature which I guest edited in 1984. Did you meet him in India or England?

Koch : No, but he has written to my publisher. We have the same publisher—I am published by Chatto and Windus, London and so is he—and he has just written to my publisher, because we sent him a copy of *Crossing the Gap* in which I mentioned him quite a lot and he seems to be quite interested. I hope to hear from him personally. I am a great admirer of Choudhari. I believe he is in some ways not popular in India, because he has been very controversial in some of his views; but I think he has remarkable things to say. He is a great individual, of course, a beautiful writer; he wrote the *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian.*

Ram : **Were you having in mind *The Continent of Circe,* in which he has** made out this theory that Indians are in a sense, Europeans: Indo-Europeans caught in the sub-continent.

Koch : It is this that I am writing about in my essay "Crossing the Gap", because what I am saying is that in this way, Indians and Australians are rather similar even though it is so long ago you wandered into this sub-continent from Europe, probably from somewhere near the Danube. You are an Indo-European people. Of course, I recognise that the Dravidian element is different. To a large extent you resemble the situation that we Australians are in. We are a European people now, as it were, marooned on a continent in the South Pacific. We are regarded now as being part of Asia. So we are both displaced people. Of course, I suppose the answer to Choudhari is that you have been here so long that you have entirely formed a separate culture. But, I think, it never quite goes away, the ancestral origin, and to me, Indians always seem very European. When I am in Asia, when I am in South-east Asia and I am meeting Singaporeans or Malayans and so on, I don't feel the same immediate closeness that I do with Indians; because we do come roughly from the same cultural area. I cannot feel the same closeness with the Chinese. I may admire Chinese culture—and I do admire it **enormously—but we belong in a way to a close-knit family and,** I think, in this way Choudhari is right. What do you think ?

Ram : Well, I think, there is a lot of wit and some truth behind this theory. I think, originally, it was meant to boost the Indian ego; for a long time, we suffered under the British and, probably, there was inferiority complex in us; I think, just to erase this inferiority complex from our minds he put forth : "Why do we feel inferior ? We are all in a way Europeans". There is some historical truth in what he says although some people, I know, do not accept it. I think it is a neatly worked out theory.

Koch : Yes, it can be on the poetic level. What the imagination finds to be true for a writer may not literally look true to a sociologist or a politician. I refuse to be bound down by these rather factual **people. If a writer feels something is true imaginatively, that at a** poetic level, it is true for him, and if he can make it true for you then it may have some value. I think it is a poetic truth

Choudhari is expressing and I feel the same poetic truth. I am forever displaced in a way, because I am a European living in Australia. I do come from a culture on the other side of the world, even though I am a fourth or fifth generation Australian.

Ram : Well, you know, Choudhari has become a bit controversial in India, because he has said some harsh things about our culture, about our lack of hygiene and other shortcomings. I have a feeling that he resembles in some ways. A.D. Hope, who too gently mocked at the Australians in "Australia". Whenever I teach that poem, I mention this to my students : that like our Nirad Choudhari, A.D. Hope too is critical of his countrymen with good intentions.

Koch : Well, there is an old saying : your enemy will flatter you; your friend will tell you the truth. From my reading of Choudhari, I think he is really at heart an intensely patriotic Indian. What a country needs is someone who, as a native of that country, can be as critical as possible. Why is he being critical ? Because, deep down, he wants it to be better. I feel this way about Australia. I am not interested in moving around praising Australia; there is a lot wrong with us. I get very impatient with the complacency in my fellow countrymen. I get very impatient with people accepting things that are near enough instead of better, and I am not going to be quiet and pretend that everything in Australia is marvellous, like some people are now doing. I believe that is the function of the artist; he is there to make you feel uncomfortable; he is not there to make you feel comfortable.

Ram : I agree with you. If our own writers criticize our shortcomings, then the criticism is taken in good faith. At Delhi, during this trip, you did meet Nissim Ezekiel and Chaman Nahal. Could you find sometime to talk to them about common problems of writing ?

Koch : A little, but here in a crowded situation, one gets very little time to speak in depth. Chaman Nahal I have met before and I found him a very interesting man to talk to. I am hoping to get hold of some of his novels and read them. I am really not as well read as I should be in the Indian novel. I am an admirer of Narayan, and I am currently reading *The Serpent and the Rope*. I have this impression that there is a lot of remarkable literature in India in the native languages, and they are not easy to obtain.

Ram : But some of them are available in English translation.

Koch : Yes, and that's why I am getting into the book shops here and buying what I can.

Ram : You may also try some of our writers who have written in English; for example, Mulk Raj Anand, Narayan, Anita Desai, Arun Joshi and others.

Koch : I have read Anita Desai and I think *The Clear Light of Day* is one of the best novels I have read for many years. And I have also read Mulk Raj Anand.

Ram : You seem to be a very conscientious artist, because, there are gaps between the publication of one novel and another. For example, *Boys in the Island* was published in the fifties . . .

Koch : 1958.

Ram : Then, your *Across the Sea Wall* in 1965 and *The Year of Living Dangerously*, in 1978. What is the reason ?

Koch : Well, there are two reasons. One is that I have had to earn a living most of my life. I worked in the ABC as a producer; in fact, after I return from Europe, I went into the ABC. So I had a career job, I had a family. It is very difficult to write novels at night or at week-ends. It became almost impossible. The other reason for the length of time I spend on any novel is that I regard the novel, or the sort of novel I am interested in, as a form of narrative poetry. I began as a poet—I published verse before I published novels—and I give to every paragraph the same care as a poet would give to every verse.

Ram : That is obvious from any reading of *The Year of Living Dangerously* and *Across the Sea Wall*. There are very many poetic passages, and the metaphors you have used for the Indian summer (heat) are very suggestive. Well, I think there is also a very beautiful passage in *The year of Living Dangerously*, particularly the one concerning Hamilton's trip to the place where he sees the *Wayang Kulit*.

Koch : At Bandung.

Ram : That's it. I guess the novel, *The Year of Living Dangerously*, was based on your experiences in Indonesia.

Koch : No, it wasn't. A difficulty that a novelist has is that people think every single novel is based on his experiences.

Ram : But some experiences you must have used in fiction. Your trip to Indonesia, your experiences in Indonesia, must have given you something.

Koch : Very few in fact. It may perhaps illuminate the way in which a novel works. Firstly, when I went to Indonesia I was in the most busy part of my career and that was when I had just about given up writing. I was then the Federal head of Radio School Broadcasts in ABC and I was sent to Indonesia to do a UNESCO mission. I had to write a report on the setting up of educational broadcasting in Indonesia. It was a fairly demanding trip, it took about two months and I was working hard all the time. I was based in Jakarta. That was in 1968.

Ram : The same period to which your novel relates ?

Koch : No, some years after. The coup took place in 1965. Now in 1968, very little had changed in Jakarta. When the coup had taken place, Suharto was in charge; Sukarno was still under house arrest in Jakarta. And the PKI, the Indinesian Communists, were still being rounded up in the countryside and it was a time of tension. And I was experiencing Jakarta very much as it had been in 1965, except that the problems, the main problems, were over. That was really the only background that I had, and people of course, after *The Year of Living Dangerously*, would always say to me : "You must have been a journalist". No, I have never been. None of the things that happened in *The Year of Living Dangerously*. have I experienced, and certainly I would make trips out to West Jawa, and I have experienced the countryside, and I have experienced the country itself and the people. Because, I was working there in a professional way; I had very close working relationships with Indonesians. I was not a tourist. Only one character in *The Year of Living Dangerously* is actually based on a real person, to any extent, and that is the PKI activist, Kumar, who was Hamilton's assistant; and he anyway was doing the same job or was in fact PKI as far as I know. Just a young man in the education department who was given to me as a sort of aide. So it is a very fictitious book. But my brother Philip is a journalist, he was there as the ABC's correspondent in Jakarta all through the confrontation, and was the last European journalist left in Jakarta when the coup took place. But his experiences were different from those of Hamilton in my novel. In fact, Hamilton doesn't very much resemble my brother. So you see one picks things from everywhere. The other characters in it are entirely fictitious. When I make a character I always build the man on one or two or three people I have known. But the people from whom I built those characters, none of them were journalists, none of them were in Indonesia; they are based on people I had known all over the place, including Sydney. That's the way you stir the pot around and make a novel.

Ram : I notice that the character Kumar in that novel has an Indian name. Were you aware of it ?

Koch : Yes, I was aware. The Indonesians, very many of them, have Indian names. The Hindu culture in Indonesia is very strong. The strange thing about Indonesia is that most of the people are Muslims, but even those who are Muslims may have Indian names and their culture is extremely Hindu, particularly because the *Wayang* **Kulit—the** Indonesian shadow-show which I used extensively in *The Year of Living* **Dangerously—is** based on the legends of the *Mahabharta*. So you **see** . . .

Ram : The structuring of the novel, I believe, is along those lines.

Koch : Yes, I structured the novel in parallel to a classical **Wayang** play and, in particular, one *Wayang* play whose text is called "The Reincarnation of Rama". There are two cycles of classical *Wayang* : One is based on the story of the Pandava brothers and the other is based on the legends of Rama.

Ram : Did you happen to see any of them there ?

Koch : Yes, I had seen the *Wayang*. You see it by the roadside at night sometimes. And, you know, you might pull the cover and look at it for a while. It means nothing because it is in old Javanese, a very difficult language, and it is impossible for us to follow it. It fascinated me because of its peculiar resemblances to the cinema and the shapes of the puppets are rather fantastic. It was only years later, about 1973, that I decided to write *The Year of Living Dangerously* and I had never intended to set a novel in Indonesia. It was that it all suited my theme in regard to Billy Kwan, the cameraman, and I became interested in *Wayang* and read books on the **Wayang—one** book in particular, James Brandon's *On Thrones of Gold*, which is the greatest book written on the *Wayang*. That provided me with a great deal of symbolic material that I could use for the book.

Ram : I must say, you have used it very successfully. I think the *Wayang* **Kulit—the puppet-show** and the things that you have referred to are integral parts of the plot, although I would not stretch the parallel between Arjuna and Hamilton too far.

Koch : Yes, that is one thing I would avoid. You cannot artificially impose on a novel symbolism like that. I simply wanted it to be there in a very loose manner. You cannot force the novel into a box and say : this is symbolic. But it did arise naturally, and the best things that happen to you when you are writing arise naturally and are not pushed. And what happened was that when I began writing the book, I set it in, what is really called, the Ramayana Bar of the Hotel Indonesia, a big hotel. And around that bar, I used to drink quite often; there were figures of the *Wayang* all around the walls as a decoration. And I felt "these *Wayang* figures in the bar could mean a lot of things." Really it all began from there. Then I began to read about the *Wayang* and I thought : "This is marvellous. I can do a lot with this." So it had to grow, rather than my having to sort it out.

Ram : Well, you must have noticed that Blanche d'Alpuget has also written a novel, *Monkeys in the Dark,* a novel on Indonesia published in 1980. She also refers to the *Wayang,* the Ramayana Bar and all that. What do you think of this novel ? Do you think, she was influenced by you in her novel ?

Koch : Well, I don't know. Her work was published after mine; but I must say Blanche d'Alpuget was based in Indonesia for some years; and she was, I think, attached to the Australian embassy. So, it was quite natural, she should write about it and also the *Wayang* bar, or the Ramayana bar as its real name is. I remember, it was the great meeting place in those days for all westerners in Jakarta. There was no other hotel that had any claims to being a luxury hotel. It was the only hotel, for instance, that had airconditioning. These days in Jakarta there are many big international hotels. But that was the only one in those days, so the Indonesian generals and politicians came there, all westerners came there, visiting Heads of State would stay there, and that was the central point. So I think it was natural that Blanche d'Alpuget should use that as well.

Ram : Well, you might not like to say it, but I felt, as I was reading *Monkeys in the Dark,* that she had probably taken a few things from you. For example, the idea of the journalist reporter as one of the major characters. And also—of course she has not referred to the puppet show—she was perhaps very keen to give some information on the year 1967, immediately following Sukarno's overthrow. I think your novel dealt with a period when Sukarno was facing some crisis, was under confrontation.

Koch : Yes, but the crucial year was 1965, which was the year of his **fall—the year of the coup.** And Sukarno, every Independence Day, would give one of his great speeches in the stadium and he would give each year a name. That would be in August. So I take the year he named from one August to the next; the year 1965 after August was *The Year of Living Dangerously* and that was in ā very famous speech of Sukarno. Yes, I am portraying the events of that vital year which meant his ruin; he hung on in a symbolic way till it was really the end after the **coup** . . .

Ram : Could you tell us something about the major novelists who have influenced your attitude towards the craft of fiction ?

Koch : **Yes.** I think the novelist who first influenced me when I was **sixteen—and I actually conceived of the ambition to be a novelist** as early as the age of **sixteen—was** the American author Thomas Wolfe, not the journalist Tom Wolfe of the present day. Thomas Wolfe was one of the major American novelists of the **1930s—he** died tragically young at the age of 38. He is still regarded in America as one of their greatest novelists, but his reputation abroad has waned a little. I think he will come back. His **contemporaries—Faulkner, Hemingway and Fit Gerald—they** were all regarded as equally important. I think Wolfe probably had a greater share of sneers than they did at a certain period. Wolfe was a southerner from North Carolina and he is a poet in prose. He is really like Walt Whitman. He writes at great length, he writes with enormous exuberence; he always wrote too much, didn't know when to stop. But his exuberence is exciting, his poetic gift is really great and he is really writing of the whole of America.

Ram : Like Whitman did.

Koch : But he also writes of his experiences as a country boy from Carolina going to the great city New York, dreaming of the North where all the cities are. And that experience paralled mine because I was a Tasmanian and, essentially I suppose, a country boy. I grew up in Hobart and that's a very small provincial city. Tasmania is essentially a rural place. And everything was beyond : the great cities of Australia were on the main land and I dreamed of going to them. I didn't leave Tasmania till I was eighteen. So my experience and Wolfe's, I felt, were similar and his writing appealed to me. As I got older, I think my main influence was Thomas Mann, the German novelist, whom I really regard as probably the greatest novelist if ever there is one; the greatest novelist he is, in my view, because of his orchestration. I have come to admire very much novels that are like orchestra, novels in which there are themes, sub-themes, leit-motifs as you have in music; and what Mann does in novels like *The Magic Mountain* is, I think, the highest activity in a novel. Also I very much admire Graham Greene, EM Forster, William Faulkner and Scott Fit Gerald

Ram : You have referred to Kipling in your essay 'Crossing the Gap'. Did any of his novels influence you ?

Koch : Yes, *Kim*. I think, Kim is one of the greatest. I am aware that prejudices still exist about Kipling in regard to his imperial propaganda. But I think you have to see Kipling as a very divided writer. In some of his work, which is quite poor you have propaganda for empire but Kipling was very much rooted in India and *KIM* is the best of Kipling. And we know, of course, that Kipling did not even speak English in his early childhood—he spoke only Urdu—he genuinely respected Indians. It may surprise some people who don't read him properly; in *Kim* all the sympathetic characters, and the characters portrayed in depth, are Indians. The English are rather cold and rough. Why I like *Kim* is; I believe that prose should be as close to poetry as possible—*Kim* is one of the greatest poetic novels : the descriptions, the rythms, are magical and that is something that has to do with your ear, what you feel. If you are stone deaf, you cannot appreciate music. If you happen to like poetry you can understand why *Kim* is so wonderful. But I think it has a great theme, it is a magic novel. Everything works—particularly the relationship of Kim with the Lama; that's a wonderful figure; his search for a river. It is simply a very great novel and it influenced me in my early childhood and I think I must have been as young as ten years old when I first read it. I still admire it as much as ever.

Ram : Did you read his *Jungle Book* also ?

Koch : Yes, I have read most of Kipling. I have read the *Jungle Book* and *Plain Tales from the Raj*. There are particular stories of his which I think are wonderful. I think it is Choudhari who says that Kipling, in the story called 'The Bridge Builders', does more to understand the heart of Indian Poetry than any other writer in English.

Ram : I agree with you because he is one of the few writers who have revealed so much of love for the Indian setting, culture and myths. The story "The Bridge Builders", reveals Kipling's deep appreciation for some of our myths.

Koch : Yes. He understood the Krishna myth in great depth. I think it was Kipling's tragedy, as we read more and more about his life, that he didn't know where he belonged in the end. He wanted to belong in England but really his soul had been captured by India as a young boy and he was never really at home anywhere. The same old problem Australians now have.

Ram : Yes, I think, there is a sort of revival of Kipling in India. People have begun to admire the other aspects of his writings.

Koch : This is happening in the West too; I think we are on the verge of a great revival of Kipling's reputation. He has just gone out of copyright; so many books are being printed in all sorts of versions. I am rather proud of the fact that I said the things I did about Kipling some five or six years ago in "Crossing the Gap".

Ram : You are always bracketed with Randolph Stow. Could you say something about Stow ? Because he has also based one of his novels, *The Visitants,* on Asia (Papua New Guinea).

Koch : Yes, I think that is his best novel too. Stow and I began to be bracketed together when we were young. We began writing novels about the same time. I think we have both, in print, refuted the idea that we were influenced by Patrick White. None of us had read Patrick White when we first published our novels.

Ram : That's very interesting.

Koch : I had not read White. I read him after I had submitted *Boys in the Island* to the publishers in London. I found a copy of *The Tree of Man* in a London book-store and took it home with me on the ship and I was very excited by it because no one had written this sort of novel in Australia until White. And so, I was delighted. But, in fact, I had not read him when I wrote my first novel. Nor have I very many preoccupations that I think are very similar to White's. So, he is really not my sort of writer. Randolph Stow I admire very much. We met briefly many years ago and never met again. I think that he too is trying to do what I am trying to do in the novel, and that is, to pursue the novel as a narrative poem. It is my theory that narrative poetry has been absorbed by the novel and writers such as Thomas Mann, William Faulkner and others are really narrative poets. I don't mean that you should write purple passages, that you should write too decoratively : the novel should always do what it has to do as plainly as it can. But some of the methods, the internal methods of poetry, are now used in the novel and the narrative part has become quite artificial. It is the lyric power that the novel can't replace. So, Stow is pursuing the novel on that level : the novel perhaps as a spiritual search. And, I think, in *The Visitants* everything comes together : the theme matches Stow's rather high order of tension and makes for what happens, perhaps, in poetic drama. It all works in *The Visitants*; it is a very extraordinary novel. The other Australian prose writers that I admire are : Henry Handel Richardson—I think *Maurice Guest* is one of the great novels of passion in Australian literature—and Hal Porter; he ought to be known a lot more.

Ram : Porter has written on Japan, hasn't he ? Some of his stories have been based in Japan.

Koch : Yes, he has been to Japan and he has a novel based in Japan—*A Handful of Pennies*. He also wrote short stories, his great achievement. He was also a very fine poet, so he is again a poetic prose writer. Porter's is extraordinary prose.

Ram : Who are your favourites among the Australian poets ? You might be aware that Alec Hope and Judith Wright have been to India and many Indian readers are familiar with their work.

Koch : Yes; I admire both these poets. I began by writing verse and I don't differentiate between prose and poetry as poetry. I began by publishing verse in the old *Sydney Bulletin* which, in those days, was the great platform for writers to get started in. And people, like J. Wright, would even publish in the *Bulletin* and as a boy I admired that sort of poet. So, we recognise now as many of the greatest poets and they include David Campbell, Francis Web, and Rolland Robinson, who writes a great deal about the North of Australia and the aborigines; he is a wonderful lyric poet. And the poet I admire most—and I think the greatest we have so far produced—is Kenneth Slessor. He was something of a father to me when I was a young writer; and he was a very generous man to all young writers. I think "Five Bells" is one of the great elegies in English; certainly one of the greatest poems he has written about Australia.

Ram : **Would you say that "Five Bells" has some parallels with Milton's** "Lycidas" because both poems, you **know,** deal with drowning and all that ?

Koch : I had not thought of that. To tell you the truth I haven't read Milton since I was at the University. The elegiac sound, the rhythms that you get in "Five Bells", I can tell you with some authority, come from Tennyson, because when we used to talk **together—when** I was **young—he** (Slessor) told me that he very much admired Tennyson who, he thought, was rather downgraded. I mean Tennyson has had the fate of **Kipling—perhaps** regarded with some contempt because of some bad work that he wrote. We forget what an absolutely wonderful lyric poet. Tennyson was at his best.

Ram : **Well**... Thank you very much, for saying something for our readers. Please come again to India ... ***Bon Voyage***.

Koch : Thank you.

PADMA'S TRAGEDY : A FEMINIST DECONSTRUCTION OF *MIDNIGHT'S CHILDREN*

Charu Verma

Padma is the companion, nurse, and audience of Saleem Sinai in *Midnight's Children*. She figures only in the narrational perspective of Saleem's narrative. She has no role in the 'recalled' action of the novel. Her absence from the actional perspective seems to have been used as an easy pretext by critics for not concentrating on her character. The present paper is a feminist deconstruction of the novel and aims at highlighting the strategies used by Saleem, the narrator, to give Padma a short shrift. These strategies reflect certain attitudes and ideological positions which reveal this otherwise remarkable novel to be a very sexist text. A humanistic focusing on Padma involves resisting the thrust of the male text, and it enables us to notice several disturbing sexist biases both in Rushdie and his narrator-protagonist.

Deconstruction by definition requires a resisting reader. Most critics have read the novel exactly as it wishes to be read. Thus, *Midnight's Children* has been studied as an autobiographical novel, as a political and historical novel, as a technically virtuoso performance, and as a work in which realism and fantasy combine to form a mixed mode. Rushdie himself calls it, "a book that discusses the relationships between history and private lives . . ."[1] David W. Atkinson analyses *Midnight's Children* as an "autobiographical novel, projecting grandiosely the 'macro-reality' of national concerns as an extension of the 'micro-reality' of self."[2] Coral Ann Howells calls the book "a self-consciously autobiographical fiction," which is explicit about "its interpretive processes and rhetorical strategies for reading and rewriting history."[3] Dieter Reimenschneider writes, "Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* . . . is essentially concerned with man's quest for his identity."[4] Rushdie's use of magical realism has similarly been commended by several critics. William Walsh writes, "Its astonishing staple is composed of elements of magic and fantasy, the grimmest realism, extravagant farce, multi-mirrored analogy and a potent symbolic structure."[5] Meenakshi Mukerjee comments that. "In its inclusive and extravagant sweep the novel gathers up fragments of history, memory and fantasy to create a contemporary legend out of a sub-continent".[6] Very few critics have discussed Padma, although Uma

Parameswaram says that Padma, "is many things within the novel, and certainly deserves a full length study."[7] There has not been a proper consideration either of Padma or the novel's sexist bias. The present paper concentrates on Padma, though it is felt that the sexist bias operates against nearly all the woman characters in the novel. This bias works through arbitrarily marginalising them. It makes the book look overly manly.

Feminist criticism has not yet succeeded in evolving a distinct methodology of its own. Toril Moi, Susan Gubar, Sandra Gilbert and several other feminist critics have been conducting sensational research on sexism in society and culture. Feminist criticism relies upon feminism, especially as it has been developing since the 1960's. Basically, the feminists oppose the male view of the universe: man, not woman — not even man plus woman — is the measure of things. Patriarchy established itself as a social constant and the male set himself as the human 'norm'. In reference to him woman is the 'other' and is constantly and wrongly diminished. Kate Millett in *Sexual Politics* calls it the 'power nexus'. Discussing Henry Miller's *Sexus* she describes it as ". . . a male assertion of dominance over a weak, complacent, and rather unintelligent female. It is a case of sexual politics at the fundamental level of copulation."[8] Sheila Mcleod in Lawrence's *Men and Women* describes the power nexus :

> Women's work has long been downgraded and devalued when compared to men's work; male muscular strength has been prized above the female capacity for physical endurance; men have been the owners of wealth and property, the wielders of authority, the holders of power, the achievers, the doers, the go-getters, while women have been barred from such apparently desirable positions or behaviours.[9]

Many distinctions along the sexual lines are artificially constructed for privileging the male sex. The distribution of sex roles highlights man as ambitious and woman as domesticated.

Padma is a victim of this male hegemonic view. Occasionally she appears to be the reader's surrogate in the book, but the first thing to remember about her is—should be—that she is a woman. Her characterisation is managed through two prominent strategies : strategies of absences and those of presences. In Padma's case most presences are openly derogatory, while the inferrable positives in her being are simply absenced.

Padma is shown in the narrative through her animal physicality.

Saleem introduces her as, "Padma —our plump Padma . . . sulking magnificently. (She can't read . . . Padma : strong, jolly, a consolation for my last days. But definitely a bitch-in-the-manger.)"[10]. This exposition does not create a positive image of her, and it is followed by a still more damaging insinuation : "She attempts to cajole me from my desk : 'Eat, na, food is spoiling.' I remain stubbornly hunched over paper. 'But what is so precious,' Padma demands, her right hand slicing the air updownup in exasperation, 'to need all this writing-shiting? . . . Padma snorts. Wrist smacks against forehead, 'Okey, starve starve, who cares two pice?' Another louder, conclusive snort . . . Thick of waist, somewhat hairy of forearm, she flounces . . . " (p. 24). It is noteworthy that for one good detail several derogatory and diminishing details are piled up one after another. She is compared to a bitch, she snorts, moves her hand updownup like a knife, and so on. This suggests a temperamental reluctance on the part of Saleem to allow her anything more than a comic status. She is not only illiterate and ignorant but ugly as well. She is described as fat — 'thick of waist' – and 'somewhat hairy of forearm.' These are not at all pleasing details. Her simplicity is also held up against her.

Padma's functions reinforce her as a mere stereotype. She cooks food for Saleem, makes his bed, sulks when she is ignored and performs all Martha's tasks. Her functions are all taken too much for granted, devalued, marginalised. They are considered to be so petty as to deserve no notice or appreciation. Her honest simple responses deserve to be defined by 'the' man who claims that he knows better. Writing is Saleem's territory, and she is alien here. His writing activity and his manly 'penly' preoccupation with say, history, time and politics are arbitrarily privileged as if cooking or making beds were not at all important. She is good only as audience, a receiver, for Saleem is the giver. Saleem often mocks her for being silly, and tries to assert his dominance by saying. "I attempt to educate her" (p. 38). Saleem, like Rushdie behind him, claims that he knows India, her people; politics, sociology. How is it that he should be content with describing Padma as an illiterate without also pointing to the socio-economic conditions which keep women uneducated here ? This is clearly a case of sexual separatism. Roles, traits, qualities, professions, etc. are divided along the sexual lines. Cooking food, washing clothes, raising childern are all woman's jobs; the world out there is regarded as man's area. Actually, these roles and jobs are merely different, not superior or inferior. But since man holds power, he elevates his roles to a higher level and degrades woman's activities. Difference is not superiority or inferiority. Indeed, cooking food is no less essential than say, contemplating history or writing autobiography.

Quite a negative mystique is built around Padma's desire for Saleem. Saleem the desexed man cannot bring her any physical fulfilment, but then he, in his consciousness of his barrenness, reduces Padma to a mere bundle of sexual urges. It is insinuated that man is higher on the sexual plane as well. Saleem highlights Padma's 'suggestive' sexual references as though she were vulgar or a nymphomaniac. What could be wrong if Padma does feel sexually deprived ? Saleem takes such a long time to admit to her that he is no good in bed. Padma has been duped into assuming that he must be physically fit; how could she guess the truth? It is very reductive of Saleem to see her only as a bitch in heat. He should be able to appreciate the sentiment behind her administering of the 'magic' aphrodisiac herbs, all for her lover, but he feels outraged at such a waste of time. He cannot see the solicitude underlying Padma's venture, and it is dismissed as a manifestation of her heat. She is seldom appreciated. A woman even at her best is not trusted.

Padma's needs are emotional and empathic and it is perverse of Saleem to suggest that she needs only sex. The spontaneous manner in which she asks to be his bride suggests that sex isn't everything to her. In fact, she would be happy if Saleem could give her some good, loving moments, moments of sympathy and nearness, of caring and touch. But the 'city boy' has no time for this stupid village girl. Her only sin is that she is wholly, soulfully in love with him and love has became her trap. For a Hindu traditional woman, the decision to stay with a barren, Muslim widower is simply radical. It is a testimony to her deep love for him. Given the possibility that Saleem is disintegrating and dying, the decision is overwhelming because of its courageous, decisive enormity. She seems to have sold out all her future for the sake of her love. Still she is a mere utility object. Saleem desires warmth, care, food, etc. and she is supposed to fulfil all his needs. But in return she is treated as a bad liability by him. Saleem has no time to sit and reflect as to whether he is being just to her. It is difficult to justify his heartless, superficial compliments to her : "I don't blame Padma," when all along he is very prone to instituting gratuitous comparisons, all to the disadvantage of Padma.

Saleem cannot forgive Padma's absences. He needs her and therefore takes her presence for granted, but then being a male he hates to acknowledge his need. This is double ingratitude. He diminishes here and exploits her, and still expects her to be grateful to him. It is highly creditable to this woman that she loves him and is ready to accept his inadequacies without condescension. It is to be remembered that unlike Saleem, whose adventures have included visiting prostitutes and entertaining incestuous desires, Padma has solid moral and ethical values. Why then should she be treated with so much contempt ? What has she done to merit persistent equation with dung ? Why is she debunked as superstitious? Why are her sincere, sentimental speeches mimicked into a joke ? What, on the other hand, is so special about Saleem that he should dismiss her affectionate attendance at his feet as a distraction or nuisance ?

Although Padma is Saleem's constant companion and audience, interlocutor and critic, the moments of crucial decisions or intensity in the narrational perspective simply leave her out. The two most crucial 'narrational' moments — his decision to begin the narrative in Chapter I and his reluctance to come out with the emergency about the **truths** in Chapter 29—do not include Padma. The rationale used at these intense moments is that a woman will be a nuisance, for no woman can understand man's deep agony. Therefore, Padma too cannot sympathize with Saleem. Hence her erasure at these points. One recalls how Grass's *The Tin Drum,* a major influence on *Midnight's Children,* begins by introducing Bruno, Oskar's keeper in the narrational perspective, and how much dignity Oskar awards to him by asking him to do a whole chapter of the narrative. Padma, by contrast, is consistently diminished. It is safe to assume that Saleem's narrative, like Saleem, believes that it can easily do without **her : "... Padma must take a back seat . . ."(p. 385).**

Padma's portrait is composed more of gaps and absence than of presences. Her absences relate to such crucial matters as her background, her past, her family, her social contexts. She seems to be characterized only as a footnote to Saleem the narrator, and is shown to have only a **vacuum** by way of her human contexts. She is given no independent, contingent identity. Her past, her family, her story, are all erased. She is negated when Saleem discusses politics or history. Her story is discardable like dung. Saleem ignores her, but we should not. Saleem, in fact, goes three generations back to start his story and claims that in order to know him, we will have to swallow a multitude of lives; but he does not feel any need to perspectivize Padma in time or space at all. "Grieve for Saleem . . ." (p. 345). But what about Padma's tragedy ? Where is Padma's past, where are her parents, her earlier locations, her adventures ? Where is her story ?" They are all lost in the man's story which alone is considered worth telling.

How do we reconcile the above analysis with the textual fact that Padma is described as the lotus-goddess? Perhaps there is no paradox at all. All male dominant ideologies need to compensate man's actual degradation and exploitation of woman by doling out to her some imaginary, mythified space in which she is worshipped as a goddness. This mythified space is the opium of her sex. This unreal space is a device to legitimise her actual exploitation day in and day out. Padma's description as the lotus-goddess is no compliment too her, though she may think it is, because she is a willing dupe of the sexist politics of India. She is Saleem's despised other, usable, exploitable, disposable. She is in other words a mere commodity. She is not only a slave but also a perfect fool. It is disturbing to see Saleem making so much of his victimization and tragedy but simply marginalising the tragedy that is Padma's. Since women constitute one half of India, Padma's tragedy finds its echo in this other India's tragedy. Padma's tragedy is no less terrifying than Saleem's but the narrative being phallocentric, her tragedy is wholly, though arbitrarily, appropriated by that of Midnight's son. Her name, Padma, as well as her discription as the lotus goddess, has a devastating economic side to it. She is Laxmi, the Grihlaxmi, but in reality, she alone works and by her labour in the pickle factory earns money. It is on her money, and thus on her labour, that Saleem 'lives and writes. The pattern is thus simply exploitative. She provides, he consumes. As if this were not enough, he despises her as common and vulgar.

Padma is reconciled to male sexual and economic domination and is willing to change her name for Padma Mongril to Naseem Sinai. She is amongst those women who are men's women. She has internalised men's arbitrary characterization of women, and in fact, behaves more like how men would expect her to behave than how she as woman can or should. We should not regard Padma as a model for Indian women. Even as it is, she is projected as a pathetic victim who does not exist as a free, self-willing actor, but only as her master's voice.

Midnight's Children has several virtues, but its sexist bias reveals an ideology which in the 1980's appears obnoxious and grotesque to all those who believe in the equality of the sexes. Padma is a stereotype, an overly-diminished image of woman in a man-dominant society. Objectively viewed, Padma's story cannot be less important or less tragic than Saleem's, but the latter effectively subsumes it within itself.

NOTES

1. Malvika Rajbans Sanghvi, "You Fight to Like Where You Live," *Indian Express, Express Magazine*, March 20, 1983, v.
2. David W. Atkinson, *Abstracts of English Studies*, 27 (Sept. 1984). 2293.
3. Corall Ann Howells, "Rubby Wiebe's *The* ***Temptation of Big*** *Bear* and Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*," *The Literary Criterion*, 20 (1985), 197.

4. Dieter Reimenschneider, "History and Individual in Anita Desai's *Clear Light of Day* and Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children, World Literature Written in English,* 23 (1984) 196.

5. William Walsh, "India and the Novel," *The New Pelican Guide to English Literature,* Vol. 8 : *The present,* ed. Boris Ford (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1983), p. 257.

6. Meenakshi Mukherjee, "A Legend Out of a Sub-Continent," *Indian Experss, Express Magazine,* March 20, 1983, v.

7. Uma Parameswaram, "Salman Rushdie in Indo-English Literature," *Journal of Indian Writing in English,* 12 (July 1984), 23.

8. Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (1969; rpt. London : Rupert Hart-Davis, 1917), p. 6.

9. Sheila Macleod, "The Passion to be Masculine," *Lawrence's Men and Women* (1985; rpt. London : Paladin Grafton Books, 1987), p. 18.

10. Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children* (1981; rpt. London : Picador, 1982), p. 24. All subsequent references are to this edition and enclosed within parentheses.

LARKIN AND TRIPLE TIME : THE LEAST OR MOST NOSTALGIC OF POETS ?

Anil Bisht

When Donald Davie said that "Betjeman is the most nostalgic of poets, Larkin the least"[1] he was making a statement that must have seemed deliberately provocative to many of Philip Larkin's critics because it was already a byword for many of them that Larkin was born middle-aged and was haunted by the relentless passage of time. They referred to lines like "the coarse /Sand-laden wind" (TLD, p. 43) of time, and poems like "Heaviest of flowers" (TNS, p. 40) where he speaks of the memories that "lie upon the earth" like "fallen apples" until they "lose their sweetness at the bruise./And then decay" as evidence of a morbidly time-ridden consciousness.

Davie, was of course referring to what he saw as Larkin's lack of "historical perspective," his "level toned acceptance of" the England he describes as "the only one we have, violated and subtopianized and poisoned as it is."[2] As Bernard Bergonzi pointed out Davie's timing was unfortunate because Larkin's next book of poems contained the poem "Going, Going" which deals precisely with the "poisoning" of England.[3] But, because of his undeniable preoccupation with time, the question still remains as to whether, on a personal, rather than social level, Larkin is the "least nostalgic" of poets or whether, as David Bromwich claims, he "resembles not Hardy but Housman. He is a perfect student of one nostalgia."[4]

Let us dispense first of all with the notion that Larkin resembles Housman. Without going into the merits and demerits of nostalgia as a theme for poetry, a comparison of one of Housman's poems with one of Larkin's will show that they are not really alike at all. Nostalgia was Housman's forte and he was content to record a regret for the past, and the present that will all too soon become the past, with plangent directness. Larkin's attitude towards the past is altogether more subtle, more complex, more double-edged.

Housman has a poem called "On Wenlock Edge the Wood's in Trouble"[5] in which, looking at an autumnal gale blowing through the saplings and stripping them of their leaves, the onlooker thinks of the old Roman city of Uricon, and how the same gale blew then but through "another wood" and that, though "Then 'twas and Roman, now 'tis I" the "thoughts that hurt him" have remained the same through the ages. It ends on a typical Housman note that the present too will soon be gone just as "Today the Roman and his/troubles/Are ashes under Uricon." The charm of the Housman poem lies in its understated but regretful acceptance of the inescapable passing of time, an attitude that can definitely be classified as nostalgic.

Larkin in his earliest and most derivative and sentimental book, *The North Ship,* has a poem "All catches alight" (TNS, p. 11) which also looks at a natural scene in the present with reference to the past. But though it may not as successfully achieve **all** it sets out to do, much more is going on than in the Housman poem. Larkin too looks back into history, though the references to the Roman past are subtler —**indicated** only by the ploughman turning up a "coin" or "broken plate" and a reference to centuries of "buried men" — and he too implies that the present will turn inexorably into the past. But there is a significant difference between the two poems. Housman's autumnal scene with all its meloncholy undertones becomes in Larkin's poem a spring scene, and the resurgence of life is emphasized in the very first lines — "All catches alight / At the spread of spring." In spite of the long backward glance through "centuries of springs." the ghosts that nudge the lovers, and other reminders of time marching on, the accent is *not* on the fact that all things must die. The poem is a celebration **rather of the continuance of life**— "Gull, grass and girl . . . join the long whirl" — and the present moment, for the lovers do not "worry overmuch" and the ploughman who kicks up the coin does not therefore stop his work. At the same time the insistent refrain is "A drum taps : a wintry drum," but the winter taps only in time to the rhythms of spring. In other words, a tension has been set up between spring and winter, life and death, now and then, that is typical of Larkin and not at all typical of Housman. Larkin was not content, even then, merely to lament the passage of time : his vision has always been too ironic for that. He has always been too aware of the "now" that opposes the "then" in spite of the futility of such opposition, and, conversely, of the "ghosts" that will not be silenced, for all that Spring calls out "Rejoice."

The fact is that Larkin's attitude towards time is far from being a simple *ubi sunt* one, or really simple at all. His own statements about the simplicity of his poems, **and his lack** of development notwithstanding, his poems reflect a complex ironic vision, that **continuously** questions *and* holds in perspective many seemingly contradictory views, a vision that definitely changes and deepens with time. Larkin's own statements (that he writes poems in order to preserve experience and again that his uniform way of life was an effort to ignore the passage of time)[6] are indeed irrefutable evidence of his preoccupation with the passing of time and the past, but there is a very real sense in which, in his earlier poems, he is the least nostalgic of poets. This peculiar un-nostalgic attitude to the past can be seen in some poems from his first two books, *The North Ship* and *The Less Deceived* that make use of the image of the photograph, or momentos of the past.

The earliest of these is "Poem XXX,"—"So through the unripe day you bore your head" from *The North Ship* (p. 43). Faint echoes of Hardy's "Neutral Tones" do not undermine the sincerity of the second half of the poem or the power of the last image :

> Now you are one
> I dare not think alive : only a name
> That chimes occasionally, as a belief
> Long since embedded in the static past.
>
> Summer broke and drained. Now we are safe.
> The days lose confidence and can be faced
> Indoors. This is your last meticulous hour
> Cut, gummed; pastime of a provincial winter.

The attitude in these lines is clearly not nostalgia, at least not of the typically Tennysonian variety that expresses regret for "the touch of a vanished hand" or "the tender grace of a day that is dead." The past is "static" and cannot impinge on the present but he does not seem to regret this. The woman he loved and the times he shared with her have been "cut, gummed;" relegated to the pages of an album or a scrapbook. It is not a yearning for the past or a Peter Pan-like refusal to leave it behind, rather it is a positive desire to go on. "Now we are safe" expresses not nostalgia but relief, though qualified by an awareness of the pain and loss involved in the achievement of such safety. In *The Less Deceived* there are four poems that pick up this idea that people and events can be fixed in the past leaving the present and the new beings in the present free to move on. In all these poems awareness of time is meshed in with an awareness of way in which the continuity of what D.H. Lawrence called "the old stable ego" of the self is affected by the "coarse sand-laden wind of time." When in "Poem XXX" he says "This is your last meticulous hour / Cut, gummed;" it is not an event alone that he is referring to, but the individual involved in that event who is living her "last hour" because she will grow into somebody different to the "she" defined by the precise events of the past.

So, also, in "Maiden Name" (TLD, p. 23) he further explores the idea of a past self as being discrete, broken-off and not continuous with the present self. The girl's maiden name belongs to the past and so "Now, it's a phrase applicable to no-one"—as unused and useless now as other momentos from the past "old programmes, a school prize of two/Packets of letters tied with a tartan ribbon." But though the new woman with her new name—the continuous ego that changes with time —has now no meaning for him, the past, and the woman of the past has been "fixed" by her maiden name, preserving her among "Those first few days, unfingermarked again." Though Roger Day finds Larkin's attitude to time in this poem—"both nostalgic and pessimistic"[7] the fact that it is much more than that can be seen by a comparison of the poem with a popular love song of the same period called "Among my souvenirs." The whole song shows nostalgia and sentimentality in its unalloyed form.

Leaving aside the obvious and immense technical superiority which even Larkin's detractors credit him with, it can be seen at once that the words nostalgic, sentimental and pessimistic can only properly refer to the song and not to Larkin's poem. In "Maiden Name" (though the poem *is* "about" a lost past love) the whole ironic tone asserts that if there is nostalgia it is a highly ironical and qualified nostalgia that includes a realistic recognition of the only relevance and meaning the past has for the present — and that meaning — the appreciation of the perfection of the past once it has been unlinked from the present—is not negative and pessimistic, but very positive. He is asserting, in fact, that the past has not been cancelled or wiped out merely because the present is different from the past.

The tone of "Lines on a Young Lady's Photograph Album" (TLD, p. 13) is even more good-humouredly ironic than that of "Maiden Name." His view of the past as a series of discrete events cut off from the present, is presented perfectly through the image of a series of photographs of the young lady "from pose to pose— / In pigtails, clutching a reluctant cat" and so on. At the same time the simultaneity of the past and the present, or at any rate the ability of the mind to comprehend them simultaneously and yet know a sense of separation from the past is emphasized in the first stanza :

All your ages
Matt and glossy on the thick black pages !
Too much confectionery, too rich;
I choke on such nutritious images.

In stanzas 4 and 5 the "faithful" and non-idealizing art of photography "that records / Dull days as dull" subtly establishes the immediacy of the past—"overwhelmingly persuades / That this is a real girl in a real place, / In every sense empirically true."

At the same time, this very realism insists that the past *is* "just *the past*," "over," "out of date" and the poem goes on to explore the relation between the past and the present. We cry, when thinking of the past, "Not only at exclusion, but because / It leaves us free to cry." The human but ineffective impulse to bridge the gap between past and present is aptly expressed in the inelegant phrase "however hard we yowl across / The gap from eye to page." But at the same time, the fact the "*what was* / Won't call on us to justify / Our grief" repeats the idea that the past is fixed, "embedded" and safe from the changes and questions of the present. No matter how circumstances may have changed, no matter how our feelings may have changed, the emotions we felt in the past will always be real in that past.

This poem, too, then, ends on a note that is far from nostalgic. The past is now perfect and cannot be touched and our earlier selves are "held" there safe and free from the constant change and uncertainty of the present :

> a past that on one now can share
> No matter whose your future; calm and dry,
> It holds you like a heaven, and you lie
> Unvariably lovely there,
> Smaller and clearer as the years go by.

In "Whatever Happened" (TLD, p. 25) Larkin again makes use of the photograph as a metaphor to explore our sense of the fixedness and the pastness of the past. The imaginary situation of the poem is of some people from a ship going on shore and getting mugged but managing to escape—"trousers ripped, light wallets and lips bleeding." At first they remember each detail but by next morning "all's kodak-distant." Larkin here uses the image of a photograph to indicate not so much a preservation of the past but a distancing, through time, of reality. In spite of the realism of the description of the scene the poem is also allegorical because the ship is time that moves us steadily away from every event and the taking of photographs indicates the "perspective" that comes with time and "brings significance." The image of the photograph is here used to signify the fact that *beacuse* events are "embedded" in the past we are free to ride away from them instead of staying anchored to them. The inexorable movement of time means that past events no longer call out to us but, rather, "cut, gummed," "unifingermarked again" and now forever unchanging, they become "smaller and clearer," while "what can't be printed can be thrown away."

Larkin, however, is the eternal qualifier and will not let this pass unquestioned. "Whatever Happened" effectively escapes the charge of nostalgia but can it escape the charge of escapism ? Can we really escape—that is, not be affected by—either past happiness or—more significantly—past pain ? The photograph is used as an image of the act of fixing an event in the past, making it unchangeable and impotent over our constantly changing selves; but the image of a photograph is also closely and invariably linked to the idea of reality. Characteristically, it is in the last couplet of the poem that he suddenly reverses the careful common sense and the psychologically accurate rationalizing process of the earlier quatrains. Now that "Whatever Happened"—the curses, the dark, the struggling—has been relegated to the past is it still real, or only a picture ? At the end of "Maiden Name" Larkin seemed to assert that past happiness is not cancelled because it no longer belongs to the present. Is this true of past unhappiness too ? In this poem he seems to reverse the question : Does the fact that we are always escaping from the past into the future make everything that happens instantly unreal—"kodak-distant" ? "Where's the source of these*yearns* now ?" (my italics) he asks, and the answer, bracketed and understated—" (except in nightmares, of course)" —is far from simple and undercuts all the rationality of the earlier lines, questioning our ability to cut the past off from the present, at least as far as our continuous sub-conscious selves are concerned.

The ambiguity of Larkin's answers to this questioning of reality and the relevance of the past does not invalidate Larkin's other assertion that, if not looked at nostalgically, if not regretted because it is so longer present, the past can be appreciated for its very perfection and unchangingness. It only questions whether we can in fact cut ourselves off so completely from the past. By the writing of *The Whitsun Weddings* Larkin had realized that escaping from the past and dissociating the past and its selves from the present was not so easy. Though the present can certainly be seen as distinct from the past and the future there is yet a complex interrelationship between past, present and future and it is this that he explores most fully in *The Whitsun Weddings.*

Larkin was by now acutely aware that :

> Truly though our element is time
> We are not suited to the long perspectives
> Open at each instant of our lives. (WW, p. 40)

This in itself in not as simple a statement as it seems. For one thing the emphasis is heavily on the qualifier—"*though* our element is time." In other words we are both in time and out of it, we are creatures of a dual consciousness, not like fish, who do not question the element they live in. Secondly a contradiction is set up within the lines by the phrases "long perspectives" and "each instant"—a contradiction found throughout his poetry. If Larkin is the poet of the "long perspectives," the long backward glance, he is also the poet of "each instant" as is seen by his habitual use of present tense verbs and adverbs in poem after poem—"Here is unfenced existence," (WW, p. 9) "That note you hold," (WW, p. 16) "Days are where we live" (WW. p. 27) to quote just a few examples. Further he is the poet also of the onrushing future that, as he says in "Next Please" (TLD, p. 20) human beings are "too eager" for, not realizing that it is "No sooner present than it turns to past."

This perspective of past, present and future he himself expressed by the title of one of his poems as "Triple Time." (TLD, p. 35). The past is described as "A valley cropped by fat neglected chances / That we forbore to fleece." The past is regretted not for its own sake but for the sake of the present, for the sake of the series of presents which will always be the pasts of the futures, which themselves "on another day will be the past." Larkin's sense of this triple time is inextricably tied up with a sense of the self and the choices that face the self at each present which in turn determine the future, though we are so "insensate" that it is only when they are past that we recognize them as our "fat neglected chances."

Andrew Motion comments on the fact that Larkin tends to divide past, present and future into "distinct and discrete units" pointing out that, at the same time, while he sees these units as "mutually exclusive, they are not mutually oblivious. The present . . . is continuously embarrassed or thwarted by the past . . . and is mocked or intimidated by the future."[8] Though this is certainly true of Larkin's new look at time after the optimism of the earlier poems, it is important to point out that the reverse is also true : the present is constantly testing and checking our notions of the past and the future and so Larkin can never lapse into an easy, nineteenth-century nostalgia or optimism.

There is no doubt, however, that the vision of *The Whitsun Weddings* is bleaker than that of the earlier books. This is not because Larkin regrets the past that is gone—which would be nostalgia—but because the "long perspectives" that suddenly open up at "each instant" of our lives force him to look at the present as the future of the past. What frightens him increasingly is the inevitability with which each present has suddenly "changed itself to past without a word" (WW, p. 28) and how that past because of its irrevocable pastness, in spite of memory that tries to deceive us into thinking we can re-live it, invalidates each new present and therefore the future. The confident turning away from the past as something that grows "smaller and clearer" the further we move away from it is put aside by a graver and, at first, rather helpless recognition of the relentless pressure of time on our lives and the possible selves left behind, no matter what choices we might, in some past present, have made.

Perhaps the poem that most unambiguously and unequivocally expresses this is "Afternoons" (WW, p. 44). The poem begins with a traditional image redolent of the passing of time : "Summer is fading : the leaves fall in ones and twos." The second stanza much more realistically presents his triple time perspective—behind the young mothers "at intervals" is a series of past and random events—"husbands," "washing", "albums lettered" "Our Wedding." Before them, in space and time, "the wind is ruining their courting places" and the forward look is subtly re-inforced by the young children finding "unripe acorns." Finally, with the force of a sledge-hammer, comes the conclusion of this triple-time perspective :

> Their beauty has thickened
> Something is pushing them
> To the side of their own lives.

It is not nostalgia that is expressed; it is a bleaker and more frightening version of the old *carpe diem* theme, because while Herrick could admonish "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may" or Marvell urge "Now let us sport us while we may" and "at once our time devour/Than languish in his slow-chapped power," it does not seem to Larkin, at least at this point, as if our mundane everyday lives (the "estateful full of washing") leave us free to make such extravagant claims for the power of the present moment.

Larkin's great struggle at this time was to arrive at a true estimate of the value of a present and a future, which, the lessons of the past prove, *cannot* set life continuously and unchangeably in order. And he wants to do this without losing sight of quotidian reality, for if he was too clear-sighted for nostalgia, he was also too clear-sighted for an easy or ready-made romantic transcendentalism: John Reibetanz in an excellent article "The Whitsun Weddings' : Larkin's Re-interpretation of Time and Form in Keats" demonstrates Larkin's "profound reappraisal of romantic values" and how, by using the central symbol of a train rather than an urn as Keats did in "The Grecian Urn" he wishes to "root us in time," to view time as 'our element' rather than "as a frame than can be transcended."[9]

But even in some of the *Whitsun Wedding* poems there are hints of a recognition of a "something else" or "other" that is beyond (spatially and temporally) our personal empirical lives with their ordinary linear perspectives and that that recognition comes, usually, at moments when we are most intensely aware of these ordinary perspectives.

In "An Arundel Tomb," (WW, pp. 45, 46) the poem that ends this collection there is again a strong sense of a time that exists around and beyond each individual "scrap of history" :

> Snow fell, undated. Light
> Each summer thronged the glass. A bright
> Litter of birdcalls strewed the same
> Bone-riddled ground. And up the paths
> The endless altered people came,
> Washing at their identity.

More and more critics (Barbara Everett, Andrew Motion, Terry Whalen for example)[10] are increasingly pointing out that though Larkin has himself stressed the "Movement" qualities—the rational, discursive, expository, empirical qualities—of his poetry, he also makes use of symbolist and imagist techniques to record moments of epiphany. Seamus Heaney in his essay "The poet of Light" in the collection *Larkin at Sixty* has noticed that these epiphanic moments are invariably associated with light,[11] and in "Arundel Tomb" light throngs the glass and the bird calls are "bright."

It must be noted, though, that this epiphanic vision is no more than a hint. There is no assertion that this recognition that snow falls "undated," that streams of "endless altered people" (and notice the force of the adjective "endless" where one would expect an adverb : the stream is endless, but the people are endlessly altered) will always come up the paths, is in any way able to counter the threat of ordinary linear time. There is here only the introduction of an extraordinary dimension into the terms of ordinary vision. Larkin, so often described as narrow—a poet of exclusions—is really all-inclusive. By the writing of *High Windows* he begins more and more to realize that "common" experience has a place both for the empirical and the epiphanic and in her later poems he brings together all his earlier attitudes towards time and plays them one against the other, qualifying one assertion by another in his attempt to get a true picture.

In *High Windows,* he goes back to a theme that he had treated in "Reference Back" (WW, p. 40) and "Love Song in Age" (WW, p. 12) —looking back into the past and the promises the ast had made for the future, which is now the present, or even the past.

He deals explicitly with this in "High Windows" (HW. p. 17). Instead of the simple look back into the past and the casually ironic tone, this poem uses a double perspective : the poet as an older man looks at the young people in the present, and remembers the older people of the past looking at him as a young man. The effect of this is to give an impression of endlessness, of generation after generation suffering from similar delusions, because, just as Larkin knows that not "sweating in the dark / About hell and that" has not really made his generation "like free bloody birds," so he knows that today's sexual freedom is *not* likely to cause everyone young to go "down the long side/To happiness, endlessly." In fact the characteristic stanza break in the phrase.

> the long slide
>
> To happiness

at once creates an ironic awareness that the long slide is only the same slide that every human being must take from birth, through time, to death. The poem unblinkingly looks at the fact that social changes based on social choices of the past, like the choices and roads taken or not taken in one's personal life are not likely to solve the problems of each present moment—they "had not done so then and could not now." (WW, p. 12)

The end of "High Windows" then suddenly takes off onto another plane and introduces very dramatically the new dimension we had hints of in his earlier poems :

> And immediately
> Rather than words comes the thought of high windows :
> The sun-comprehending glass,
> And beyond it, the deep blue air, that shows
> Nothing, and is nowhere, and is endless.

This is nothing short of a vision of eternity after the clear-sighted examination of the progress of ordinary time from generation to generation. But the language and the imagery is so ambivalent that it is hard to decide whether this freedom from the cycle of time is positive or negative. C.B. Cox's comment on this ending demonstrates the ambivalence :

> The poem takes off bouyantly away from the constrictions of place and time on a journey through space. But the new-found freedom of perspective, the deep blue air, shows "Nothing." The typically simple last line suggests that escape from the world of historical contingency is inevitably a movement towards annihilation.[12]

But though there is a strong emphasis placed on the word "Nothing" because of the line break, it does not, in my opinion, completely counteract the positive connotations of "sun-comprehending glass" and "deep blue air" or the emphasis that is placed on the last word of the poem—"endless". It is certainly the expression of a yearning for freedom from the cycle of the change that does not bring about change, and Larkin's own comment on the poem, that it expresses a yearning for "infinity" and *"absences"* (my italics) points to the fact that Larkin was moving more emphatically towards a position he had already approached in earlier poems—that there is a way of apprehending time while dissociating it from a personal past, present and future. Whether that means annihilation he does not make clear in this poem.

He had first expressed this in a short strangely symbolic poem called "Age" in *The Less Deceived* (p. 30). Instead of being anchored to his past, he is detached and looks at it as if it belongs to someone else, as if it were "A lighted tenement scuttling with voices," and having done that finds that now he is attended only by "silence and space" which he describes as "clear translucent bergs." Again the descriptive phrase associated as it is with light, makes a positive rather than a negative interpretation more than possible.

In the *High Windows* collection there are a number of poems that more explicitly express this supra-personal vision of time. But always the ordinary temporal world filled with separate selves and change and movement is placed against the super-temporal vision and is included in the total impact of the poem.

In poems like "To the Sea" and "Show Saturday," Larkin finds a positive value in the recurrent cycles of life great enough to counter the inevitable loss and pain suffered with the passage of time measured in individual terms.

Life is looked at from a collective point of view—the individual with his personal ambitions, his "greater gestures" is always subject to time, but the "things people do" go on. Though positive, it is not a position that can fortify the individual against the ravages of time. At a more personal level Larkin seems to have reconciled himself to the passage of time by looking beyond the pulls and needs of his personal self to the eternal cycles of natural life. If it is not a heroic or defiant attitude, neither is it a defeatist one, and nor is it sentimental because individual loss is never denied. The joy that the individual can find in life once he has given up his ego is a value asserted, almost diffidently, in the face of the "reality" of time and change and loss and, ultimately, death.

In many of his last poems, Larkin has managed to achieve a complex and delicate balance between joy in the present and regret at its transience, an attitude that is realistic and unsentimental and yet not defeatist. He achieves this balance by moving away from a purely personal interpretation of time to an acceptance of it as a universal fact. A comparison of his poem "Cut Grass" (WW, p.41) with Housman's famous poem "Loveliest of Trees, the Cherry Now" makes clear this achievement.[13]

In the Housman poem the description of the cherry tree is generalized and loaded with ironic references to the inevitability of winter. The trees are "wearing white for Eastertide" an image that suggests both spring brides and the Death of Christ. Similarly the famous paradoxical last line "To see the cherry hung with snow" makes the obvious point that spring, now so beautiful, will be followed by winter. The central stanza directly applies this observation that summer (and life) must give way to winter (and death) directly to human life — and specifically the poet's—giving the whole poem a very pessimistic tone :

> Now of my three score years and ten,
> Twenty will not come again,
> And take from seventy springs a score,
> It only leaves me fifty more

The masage of the whole poem clearly is—In the midst of life we are in death, with the poet specifically thinking of his own death.

Now though this motif is central to Larkin's poem too, and he in fact makes use of the same image of summer flowers looking like snow, the poem as a whole has a very different tone—one that is positive rather than negative. The poem is a completely factual description of a natural scene, using the old Romantic images of grass, flowers, June and clouds, though the central image of *cut* grass is not at all a common poetic symbol. The description of the "white hours" of June, instead of being generalized and metaphorical as in the Housman poem, is particularized in an almost Keatsian catalogue of white flowers — the chestnut, the may, white lilac, Queen Anne's lace — so that when we come to the "hedges snow-like strewn," and the final white image, "the high-builded cloud moving at summer's pace, "we are inclined to take them at face value, as sheer description. It is a typical summer scene—fresh and bright and serene, redolent with the scents of summer. But faint as the "breath of new-mown stalks" —too faint to disturb the beauty of the scene—is the knowledge that time is moving, even though, like the cloud, it is "at summer's pace." The effect of this knowledge is, however, the opposite of that of the Housman poem. Instead of the emphasis being on the *passage* of time, the emphasis here is on the *suspension* of time. Time will move, of course, but for *now,* the perfect moment is caught and held, so that life and death, summer and winter are seen as one in that instant.

It is almost as if Larkin has returned to his early image of the photograph, only here he uses not the image but the effect of the image, and here it is the *present* moment that has been held and valued, without claiming for it, what he had long ago realized he could not claim for any moment any choice—that it would remain perfect or hold out against the battering ram of time. Yet without denying the "long perspective" he, unlike Housman, is able to achieve a poise that allows him to celebrate in an almost existential manner the white hours of June for what they are, without being over-burdened by the thought of the coming white winter or his own personal winter.

Larkin's vision of time, as it has grown and developed through the years, is not a heroic vision, if heroism lies in the individual—like the tragic hero—defying the tyranny of time. Larkin is indeed too empirical a poet for that—the facts of *his* experience, at least, do not allow him to believe that the individual will ever—no matter how grand his "gestures"—be able to defeat time in any real sense. The personal self will always be defeated by time and Larkin never glosses over this. It has led critics to accuse him of defeatism and pessimism. This very defeat of subjectivity paradoxically allows the individual to joy in the miracle of something other than the self, to glory in the perfect and real present in all its transience, partly because it is only the "old stable ego" that longs for permanance, and partly because the perfect present (as his frequent use of the present tense demonstrates) is universally true. Emotions aroused by events such as "when the flowers *come* and when the birds *go*" ("Forget What Did") are universally and permanently true.

This recognition and celebration of the moment, won in spite of his clear-sighted acceptance of the implications of "triple time" make his own vision something other than merely pessimistic and defeatist. He has accepted realistically, if not heroically, the fact that time brings change and that past, present and future are/constantly merging one into other. But that ceaseless change itself can be accepted positively and, if looked at from far enough away—that is, not from the point of view the ego—the constant change itself becomes timeless.

NOTES

All references to Larkin's published works are to the following editions and will be cited parenthetically in the text by the short form given below, followed by the page number :

The North Ship (London : Faber and Faber, 1945), hereafter cited as *TNS;*

The Less Deceived (Hessle : The Marvell Press, 1955), hereafter cited as *TLD;*

The Whitsun Weddings (London : Faber and Faber, 1964), hereafter cited as *WW;*

High Windows (London : Faber and Faber, 1974), hereafter cited as *HW.*

1. Donald Davie, Thomas Hardy and British Poetry (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 65
2. Davie, p.66.
3. Bernard Bergonzi, "Davie, Larkin and the State of England," *Contemporary Literature*, 18 Winter (1977), p.352.
4. David Bromwich, "Critical Crotchets," *The New Republic*, 13 & 20 Aug. 1984, p. 34.
5. A.E. Housman, "On Wenlock Edge the Wood's in Trouble," in *The Norton Anthology of Poetry* (New York : W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1970), p.895.
6. Phillip Larkin, "Statement." (1955), ***Required Writing***, pp. 57-58. Interview with *Paris Review* (1982), *Required Writing*, p.15.
7. Roger Day, *Philip Larkin* (Milton Keynes : Open Univ. Press, 1976), p.15.
8. Andrew Motion, *Phillip Larkin* (London : Methuen, 1982), p. 69.
9. John Reibetanz, "the Whitsun Weddings : Larkin's Reinterpretation of Time and Form in Keats," *Contemporary Literature*, 17, No. 4 (1976), pp. 529-540.
10. Barbara Everett, "Philip Larkin : After Symbolism," *Essay in Criticism*, 30, July (1980), pp. 227-242 and "Larkin's Edens," *English* 31, No. 139 (1982), pp. 41-53.

    Andrew Motion, *Philip Larkin*, pp. 72-80. Terry Whalen, "The Imagist Bias," *Critical Quarterly*, 23, No. 2 (1981), pp. 29-46.
11. Seamus Heaney, "The Main of Light" in *Larkin at Sixty*, ed. Anthony Thwaite (London : Faber and Faber, 1982), pp. 131-138.
12. C.B. Cox, "Philip Larkin, Anti-Heroic Poet," *Studies in Literary Imagination*, 9, Spring (1976), p. 164.
13. A.E. Housman, "Loveliest of Trees, the Cherry Now," in *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, p. 893.

SHERWOOD'S *THE PETRIFIED FOREST* : AN EXPOSURE OF THE WASTELAND-VISION OF T.S. ELIOT

Kshamanidhi Mishra

Robert E. Sherwood, a veteran of the First World War, was one of the most highly esteemed playwrights of the 1930's and was popularly known for his pacifist stand. Interestingly enough, all the three important plays on revolution and war, *Idiot's Delight, Abe Lincoln in Illinois* and *There Shall Be No Night* fetched him the Pulitzer prize in drama. But in addition to his plays on war and pacifism, he had also written some significant social plays which reflect the liberal attitude of the author towards social problems. His highly penetrating social play, *The Petrified Forest,* displays the wasteland-vision of T.S. Eliot in the grim mood of the Depression.

Primarily a dramatist of the 30's when Marxism was very much in the air, Sherwood was obviously not indifferent to Marx and his theories. Even though he was not a Communist, he treated the Marxist doctrine, that a new order would emerge from the conflicting forces of the old, seriously. A careful study of his social plays would reveal that there is a definite progression of society in the Marxian line from monarchy to capitalism which is at the throes of death. After establishing the triumph of limited monarchy in *The Queen's Husband* (1928), Sherwood shows the abolition of monarchy in *Reunion in Vienna* (1932). The monarchy has been replaced by the bourgeoisie, comparatively calm, respectable and unexciting. His next play, *The Petrified Forest* (1935), dramatises how the bourgeois civilisation has been imperilled by its own destructive materialism, economic collapse and the threat of fascism. There is an indirect hint that the world of the bourgeoisie, which has replaced the monarchy in *Reunion in Vienna,* would be replaced by a new order of society.

An excellent pessimistic play bordering on tragedy, *The Petrified Forest* was an overnight success when it opened on Broadway early in January, 1935. Profoundly dealing with the Depression environment, it marks the transition from high comedy in *Reunion in Vienna* to drama of arrestingly serious import. The interesting thing about the play is that it combines the grim mood of the Depression with the romantic disillusionment of the twenties. Displaying the wasteland-vision of T.S.

Eliot on the one hand and quoting rapturously from the love poems of Francois Villon on the other, it manages to portray stark things gaily. Simultaneously a melodrama and a romance, it satisfies each contingent in his audience for what he was looking. Sherwood himself told Lucius Beebe : "The real origin of *The Petrified Forest* was an attempt to show the passing of an epoch in the terms of melodrama and assembled characters. But do the great run of theatre goers peel off their bank notes to see an Indian fighter, a gunman, a millionaire and an American Legionnaire symbolising the passing of a world order ? They do not. They come to see two parts of a highly improbable and sentimentalized romance stirred, like a martini, with one part gun-play. The trouble with me is that I start with a big message and end with nothing but good entertainment."[1] Sherwood's excellent philosophy here shows that the playwright is fumbling desperately in the mid-Depression for conversion to something positive.

Departing from the purely popular genre to produce something both popular and meaningful, the playwright added allegorical significance to his play which was already a melodrama and a romance. It is not that he has chosen a title that is only symbolic; the setting and characters are symbolic as well. His Petrified Forest located in the desert wasteland of far-off Arizona is not meant to produce natural curiosity in the audience, but it is made to represent the whole of American civilisation which he believes to be fossilised. It presents a picture of defunct America in which spiritual values are dead and no hope is to be derived from any political philosopy. As Alam Squier, the panhandling intellectual, says :

> It's the graveyard of the civilization that's been shot from under us. It's the world of outmoded ideas. Platonism-patriotism-Christianity-romance-the economics of Adam Smith—they're all so many dead stumps in the desert.[2]

It is a succinct statement of the problem in the play. Concerned with the question of actual survival, Sherwood portrays in this play the civilisation that is endangered by the destructive forces let loose by excessive materialism, economic collapse, and Fascism. The men of good will, like Alan Squier, are helpless and inactive, whereas the men of action are fascist-gangsters like Duke Mantee.

The several characters in the play are a collection of social types "contrasting the political attitudes of Left and Right, the intellectual and the physical life, youth and age, rich and poor, and black and white,"[3] who are portrayed to represent the gloomy aspects of the dying capitalist society : Alan Squier is a typical ineffectual intellectual who has failed as a novelist and can find salvation only in death; Gabby, enamoured of poetry and painting, is a budding artist who wishes to go to France to improve her painting; contrasted to them are Duke Mantee and his gang, typical fascist-gangsters symbolising primitive anarchy and materialism as its most obsessive; Boze Hertzlinger, an ex-football player, is a typical sportsman whose only glorious years were those he spent in college; Gramp Maple, a typical pioneer who having no new country to explore can only look back nostaligacally to the days of Billy the Kid, is an obsolete figure deserving to die; Jason Maple, a veteran of the First World War and one-hundered-percent American, represents the rightist; opposed to him politically is the first telegraph lineman, an unpromising Communist; Mr. Chisholm is a typical capitalist who is the victim of his own success and Mrs. Chisholm, who wanted to be an actress, has been robbed off her life by excessive materialism of her husband; Joseph and Pyles represent the blacks; and the American Legionnaires are men who have long since ceased to be the men they were during the war which created them.

The setting, "the lunch room of the Black Mesa Filling Station and Bar-B-Q on the desert in eastern Arizona" (p. 168), though dull to look at in contrast to the beautiful settings chosen in the past, in very effective in suggesting a Waste Land that Sherwood wants tori portray. It "wat a fitting locale for a dramatic study of the new Depression-bred transiency, when young intellectuals were continually touring the country to get a sense of its temper, and when the hitchhiker was taking his place in the national folklore."[4] Not far from the filling station is the Petrified Forest, a vestigial remainder of prehistory ("just a lot of dead old trees in the desert, that have turned to stone," p. 183), that corresponds to the immensity of time. With repeated reference to this timeless forest in the background, in contrast timely men play their small roles in the dull surroundings of this drab filling station. As Gabby observes, "That's the way it is in a gas station. They come and they go" (p. 186). Joseph Wood Krutch feels that "Solidly realistic as the filling station is, it is obviously intended also as a place out of space and time where certain men can meet and realise that they are not only individuals but phenomena as well."[5]

Though the play is divided into two acts, the setting remains the same throughout. Since the two acts are intended to show the lapse of time, the division could have been avoided by keeping the stage dark for a few seconds and the drama would have been made a one-act play. But perhaps keeping the length of the play in view, Sherwood has divided it into two acts. The first act naturally serves as the exposition in introducing most of the characters. As the action rises in both the acts, the second act brings about the climax of the play with the death of the hero that ultimately leads to the denouement.

As the curtain rises, the first thing we hear in the desert lunch room is about the "revolution." It is a befitting beginning for a play that depicts the American civilisation which is being petrified. Since it was Communism which many intellectuals believed would bring a revolutionary change in the capitalist set up, Sherwood perhaps thought it proper to start with Communism in the form of a mild argument. His major concern was to portray the fossilised civilisation and not to offer any positive solution. He simply made the audience aware of this social alternative through the conversation between two minor characters, the two telegraph linemen, who are taking their meals.

The first lineman is a staunch Communist who believes that it's the "Revolution" that would finally bring "equality they talked about in the Declaration of Independence" (p. 168). He talks eloquently in favour of Russians who are pushing ahead :

> . . . they're pioneering. They're opening up new territory—and for the benefit of all, not so's a few land grabbers can step in and take the profits after somebody else has done the real work . . . Those engineers in Russia are building something new ! That's where they've got it on us. We ain't building—we're *repairing.* (p. 169)

But he is ideologically opposed by the reactionary forces represented by Boze Hertzlinger and Jason Maple. Jason holds the rightist view that "belittling our system of government, preaching revolution and destruction, and red propaganda—well, it isn't a very healthy occupation," to which the first lineman aptly retorts : "So it's unhealthy, eh ! How do you think this government was started if it wasn't by revolution ?" (pp 170-71). Referring to the "massacre" in Oklahoma city, the first lineman highlights the anarchy that prevails in America and contrasts it with the Russian system that has "abolished the cause of crime" (p. 171). Thus the first lineman obviously offers Communism as the only alternative to dying capitalism. But Sherwood deliberately does not emphasise this alternative in the subsequent action of the play as a result of which it melts into the petrified forest and the first lineman becomes a forgotten character whose protest turns into a cry in the wilderness.

As the linemen are not involved in the subsequent action of the play, it may appear at the surface level that they have no organic relation to the play's development. However, as the play progresses it gradually becomes clear that they are, so to say, instrumental in introducing major themes of the play : the loss of soul ("where's this soul that everybody hollers about ?") which the hero, Alan Squier, would represent; proliferation of "rugged individualism" ("Every man for himself! That's the kind of liberty we've been getting") which the villain, Duke Mantee and his gang would represent; and the passing away of the pioneers out of whom Gramp Maple is a remaining pioneer who is as good as not living obviously emphasising the fact that the American pioneer is just as much a fossilised remain as the Petrified Forest.

Operating the Bar-B-Q and the filling station are Gramp Maple, the owner of the establishment, his son, Jason, Jason's daughter, Gabby, and an employee, Boze Hertzlinger. Gramp is "a mean old miser" (p. 196), who has salted away twenty-two thousand dollars in a bank in Santa Fe which is a sort of atrophied wealth because it is of no use to anybody. A contrast to Jacob in *Awake and Sing !* who sacrifices his life to accelerate his grandson's conversion, Gramp stands as a stumbling block to his granddaughter's progressive plan for learning painting in France. Gramp is condemned and deserves to die. Jason is also condemned because he has long since ceased to be the man he was during the war. He does not like the present business and wants to attempt a new start in auto trade, but Gramp does not give him the scope to do so. Boze, who claims, "In school we had to read up a lot on that cock-eyed system they got in Russia . . . there you wouldn't be able to call your soul your own" (pp. 168-69), forgets the fact that he has no soul as he has to say only "O.K., boss" (p. 169) to what Jason says and can be fired at any time by his employer. He thinks he is in love with Gabby, but obviously he has no real understanding of her. The subtleties of her artistic personality escape his notice. Boze is proud of his glorious past and thinks a hell of a lot of himself. He is also condemned because he is only "chasing the rainbow" that he cannot catch (p. 174). The only member of the establishment who is not condemned is Gabby.

Gradually other chatacters stray one by one into the lunch room and the tense drama ensues. Prominent among them are Alan Squier and Duke Mantee. Alan Squier, the protagonist, is a highly cultured and sophisticated intellectual who has "studied the whole cycle of art" and a gifted artist, "profound, but inarticulate" (p. 180). He stands for the positive forces of civilisation but has no place in the present society. He is bankrupt and is completely at the end of his possibilities. The futility of his life is expressed by his past. Now a penniless hitchhiker pursuing an aimless path across the continent, he is shown in the play to be in the last stage of his wanderings. He is portrayed as both a valuable but an obsolete member of society. The society which has made him obsolete is also condemned because of its indifference to art and artistic sensibility.

Alan Squier, the frustrated representative of a dying civilisation, carries the major burden of Sherwood's theme : having lost his soul in a loveless marriage, Alan is in search of it. It is significant to note that he carries along with his meager possession a copy of Dr. Jung's *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (p. 184) which might serve as an "objective correlative" for his search of a soul. Not only that, it appears that Sherwood had been highly influenced by this work by Dr. Jung in delineating the character of Alan. Perhaps it has escaped the notice of his biographer that Sherwood was intimately acquainted with the work of Dr. Jung. All of Alan's actions and reflections in the play simply reinforce the fact that he represents the typical "modern" man pictured by Dr. Jung who stated that "On the whole . . . modern man has suffered an almost fatal shock, psychologically speaking, and as a result has fallen into profound uncertainty."[6] Alan, who has been shockingly deceived by the past, is fully conscious of the painful "present" that has alienated him from society and given him "uncertainty" about the hopless future. Out of frustration he quotes T.S. Eliot by way of confirmation :

> You see—the trouble with me is, I belong to a vanishing race. I'm one of the intellectuals . . . . brains without purpose. Noise without sound. Shape without substance. Have you ever read "The Hollow Men" ? . . . It refers to the intellectuals, who thought they'd conquered Nature. They dammed it up, and used its waters to irrigate the wastelands . . . . It's Nature hitting back. Not with the old weapons—floods, plagues, holocausts. We can neutralize them. She's fighting back with strange instruments called neuroses. She's deliberately afflicting mankind with the jitters. Nature is proving that she can't be beaten—not by the likes of us. She's taking the world away from the intellectuals and giving it back to the apes. (pp. 182-183).

Alan's statements are, in fact, the essence of the play. Since Nature gets us through the mind and the spirit and the world is taken over by the apes once more, intellectuals gradually become non-productive and mentally deranged. This is what exactly has happened to Alan Squier. He has written a book, but it has been poorly sold; he is married, but he has no children; being divorced by his wife he is now a panhandling intellectual engaged in what he calls "gipsying."

Gipsying wearily over the desert wasteland of Arizona that is "full of mystery, and it's haunted" (p. 182), he is engaged, like the Scholar Gipsy of Matthew Arnold, in some sort of spiritual quest. As the Scholar Gipsy is waiting for the "heavensent moments" to acquire the skill of ruling the workings of men's brains, Alan has been "looking for something to believe in. I've been hoping to find something that's worth living for—and dying for" (p. 180). The outcome of his quest is interesting to follow. On a quest for something worth living and, indeed, dying for, Alan at last comes to the conclusion that "Any woman is worth everything that any man has to give — anguish, ecstasy, faith, jealousy, love, hatred, life or death" (p. 200). Gabby offers him the opportunities for love and courageous living, but he lacks the vitality and mental strength to accept her and renew his love. Since he realises that "Living, I'm worth nothing to her. Dead—I can buy her the tallest cathedrals, and golden vineyards, and dancing in the streets" (p. 199), he feels that he can find salvation only in death with the promise of burial in the Petrified Forest. Ultimately endorsing his life insurance policy for five thousand over to Gabby so that she can fulfil her fantasy of going to France, Alam asks Duke Mantee to kill him.

Alan Squier's death is well perpared for—the inclination to die has been shown early in the play. When he learns that the road he roams along leads to the Petrified Forest, he is so delighted that he becomes philosophical : "The petrified forest ! A suitable heaven for me. Perhaps that's what I'm destined for— to make an interesting fossil for furure study. Homo Semi-Americans—a specimen of the in-between age" (p. 183). It is not unusual that Alan, the remnant of the lost generation who quotes from "The Hollow Men," would be attacked by serious introspection. As his search is abruptly cut short by the advent of Duke Mantee and his gang, he has had a strange "feeling of Destiny closing in" :

> . . . just now, as I was walking along that road, I began to feel the enchantment of this desert. I looked up at the sky and the stars seemed to be reproving me, mocking me. They were pointing the way to that gleaming sign, and saying, "There's the end of your tether !" (p. 190)

In the second act Alan has been drinking steadily and under its influence he resolutely proclaims, "I'm planning to be buried in the Petrified Forest . . . . That's where I belong—and so do you, Duke" (p. 194). As the scene progresses, he becomes more and more concerned about Gabby's plight in the desert where she cannot fulfil her dreams of going to France. Knowing pretty well that Gramp will not sell the establishment that would give her enough money to go away, he decides to sacrifice his life so that Gabby may get his insurance money to build her future. As described in the stage direction, "Squier . . . stunned by Boze's spectacular action . . . (was) determined to do something spectacular himself" (p. 197), Boze's gallantry in challenging Duke is the immediate stimulus for Alan to do something heroic. Further, he is in love with Gabby. Having lost his soul in a loveless marriage, he finds his soul again in his love for Gabby. As his future is not worth much, the great idea of self-sacrifice is impregnated into his mind. Holding up the insurance policy he heroically proclaims : "This document will be my ticket to immortality. It will inspire people to say of me : 'There was an artist, who died before his time !" (p. 199). He decrees when and how his death will occur and he imbues it with meaning, although of a materialistic kind. In a society where art and idealism have no proper place, materialism is all that is glorified.

As the true representative of a "vanishing race," Alan would certainly make "an interesting fossil for future study," but what purpose does his death serve in the play ? Nothing. It is apparent that his character has been grossly sentimentalised. He is simply a victim of fate. He dies so that the girl he loves may have the insurance money to realise her dreams, although he has made it very clear that those dreams are nothing but illusions. Of course, there is the suggestion that Gabby wants to go to France to improve her art of painting, but Alan had pointed out the futility of such a mission ("Don't you realize—there are probably thousands of artists in France today who are saying, I'd find a really big theme for my canvas if I could only get out to Arizona," (pp. 181-82). Thus his self-sacrifice, that has been inspired by a futile cause, is both deprecatory and meaningless. Eleanor Flexner has rightly commented, "His death is as false, as romantic, as his living, yet the dramatist glorifies both."[7]

Presented as a contrast to Alan, is Duke Mantee, the gangster man of action. Sherwood's characterisation of Mantee is especially strong and well drawn. As a sharp contrast to the first telegraph lineman who takes recourse to Communism as a protest against capitalistic exloitation, Mantee turns to gangsterism to fulfil his materialistic ambitions. "If he hadn't elected to take up banditry, might have been a fine leftfielder" (p. 187). but he is destined to be a killer. He represents the chaos and confusion of the free-enterprise system that leads capitalism in its path of destruction. The Bar-B-Q is temporarily occupied by Duke and his gang who have fled from Oklahoma City after taking part in a prison break and massacre. They take the inmates captives at the point of guns and dominate the scene throughout the second act.

Though a fascist dictator of the underworld, Duke chats affably with his captives. Even when faced with danger, Duke is not bothered; he is patiently waiting for the girl he loves. It is only Duke who gives Alan his boon of extinction. But even he belongs to the same Petrified Forest, because he is also a relic of the past, "the last great apostle of rugged individualism" (p. 194).

The two minor characters, Mr. Chisholm, the Ohio banker and his wife are well presented by Sherwood. The "pillar of the mortgage loan and trust" (p. 201), Mr. Chisholm represents the compulsive acquisition of wealth and its hoarding in a free enterprise system. The money so hoarded by Mr. Chisholm is a sort of atrophied wealth that is only worth robbing by gangsters like Duke Mantee. It is of no proper use to anybody. It does not give the Chisholms the satisfaction of a happy married life. Mrs. Chisholm's life with her husband shows the hollowness of their bourgeois relationship. The Chisholms, too, are condemned in the play. It is Mrs. Chisholm who advises Gabby to "go to France—and *find* yourself" which "would be better than endless doubt" (p. 202).

The only character who is not "condemned" in the play is the young heroine Gabby. She is a progressive character who is not a consciously revolutionary type. "She is young and pretty, with a certain amount of style about her. Her principal distinguishing feature is an old look of resentment in her large, dark eyes" (p. 170). The "resentment" obviously refers to her sense of protest against her present environment. But the protest appears to be a feeble one. A lover of art and poetry, she represents the place of an artist in a capitalist society. She loves painting, but gets no opportunity to improve her art and wants to go to France to learn painting, but her grand-father stands as a hindrance. In thought she wishes that her grand-father should die so that she can get the money for the trip to France, but she does not directly revolt against him. She is, so to say, a silent revolutionary type who only resents but does not try to change the environment.

Both the dreamer and the realist, Gabby exhibits a dual personality. An offspring of a French mother and an American father, the French part of her personality makes her a dreamer, her American part makes her a realist. Her dual personality is represented by two characters in the play : Alan represents her dream and Boze her reality. If Alan is the paradise for her, Boze is nothing but the hell. Her startling proposal to Alan to go to France with her where they would "just live in sin and have one hell of a time ?" (p. 183), remains a proposal only. Alan is not willing because he is her paradise where sin cannot be encouraged. With the reappearance of Alan, the dream too comes back, but it is transient. With the death of Alan the dream is gone—what is left for Gabby is reality. Even her erstwhile dream for going to France is no more a dream—with the insurance money that Alan has left her, she can convert her dream to reality. Since now both Arizona and France are real, the dramatist leaves the option to Gabby to make a choice.

In the overall pessimistic atmosphere of the desert wasteland of Arizona in *The Petrified Forest,* Gabby is the only character who offers a ray of hope for the future. As Alan puts it :

> She's the future. She's the renewal of vitality—and courage—and aspiration—all the strength that has gone out of you (Gramp). Hell—I can't say what she is—but she's essential to me, and the whole damned country, and the whole miserable world (p. 200).

Alan is so optimistic about Gabby's future that he goes to the extent of stating, "She may be one of the immortal women of France—another Joan of Arc, or George Sand, or Madame Curie" (p. 199). But this is nothing but romantic exaggeration based on probabilities. Whether Gabby would stand upto Alan's expectations is to be seen. Gabby, of course, does not explicitly state her future resolutions, but the tendentiousness of the dramatist is implicitly established through the lines Villon quoted by her. Before his death Alan announces that he is transferring the "artist" in him to her so that she would become a great artist in future :

> . . . it's my only chance of survival. I told you about that major artist, that's been hidden. I'm transferring him to you. You'll find a line in that verse of Villon's that fits that. Something about : "Thus in your field my seed of harvestry will thrive." I've provided barren soil for that seed—but you'll give it fertility and growth of fruition (p. 203).

It is Gabby who is to take care of that "artist" and help it grow till "fruition." Gabby's recital of Villon towards the end of the play confirms her willingness to act accordingly. An artist herself, if Gabby tends the "artist" in Alan that is being transferred to her, she would certainly become a great artist in future. Now that the insurance money is at her disposal, there is no trace of doubt that Gabby would certainly fulfil her ambition of going to France and becoming a distinguished painter. What Sherwood establishes is that it is only art which deserves to survive, and upon it only can man depend for his inspiration to begin anew.

SHERWOODS *THE PETRIFIED FOREST* : AN EXPOSURE OF THE WASTELAND-VISION OF T.S. ELIOT

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Quoted by Burns Mantle, *Contemporary American Playwrights* (New York : Dodd, Mead & Co., 1938), p. 23.

2. Robert E. Sherwood, *The Petrified Forest,* in *American Drama,* ed. Alan S. Downer (New York : Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960), p. 194. All subsequent references to this play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text itself.

3. Malcolm Goldstein, *The Political Stage : American Drama and Theatre of the Great Depression* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 147.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Joseph Wood Krutch, *The American Drama since 1918 : An Informal History* (1939; rev. ed. New York : George Braziller, Inc., 1957), p. 219.

6. See C.G. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (1933; rpt. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1949), pp. 227-31.

7. Eleanor Flexner, *American Playwrights, 1918-1938* (1938; rpt. Freeport, New York : Books for Libraries press, 1969), p. 277.

THE CHICAGO CRITICS AND FILMS

Tutun Mukherjee

The Chicago Critics are very often referred to as the "Pluralists" and the "Neo-Aristotelians." These are labels which, while focussing upon certain aspect of their critique have also led to some confusion when they are summarily assumed to denote the totality of their contribution. There are, however, obvious reasons for these appositions of the Chicago Critics. They are based on their interest in a particular class of critical problems. They are also based upon their contentions that criticism is a metalanguage and Aristotle is the first and possibly the last to discuss systematically such critical problems for the study of which he evolved an appropriate and workable method that can be profitably used in the present literary situation as a modern critical programme. They find the Aristotelian critical system not only admirable in its method but extremely amenable to extensions because of its base in a philosophy that can encompass different areas of human activity.

The Chicago Critics adopt the Aristotelian methodology but their commitment to the "Ille Philosophus" is strictly pragmatic. They are more interested in his method than in his substantive results. Nor are they slavish in the application of the method. Otherwise, their school of thinking would have remained as mere reviewing and would not have evolved into a novel critical system. To follow Aristotle slavishly would also have prevented the Chicago Critics from analyzing the literary forms that either Aristotle himself had not discussed or that have emerged after Aristotle.

In the esoteric and incomplete *Poetics*, all the literary forms have not been fully discussed; for example, "philosophical poems, moral essays, epigrams, treatises in verse, occasional poem; Horatian satires, Juvenatian satires, Varronian and Menippean satires; allegories, apologues, fables, parables, example, thesis, or propaganda, dramas, and novels"[1] have not been touched at all. Some of these, of course, were not extant in Aristotle's time, but even those that were, for example, the shorter imitative forms like the lyric, are neglected.

It is mainly from Plato and Aristotle, the two great classical philosophers that the Chicago Critics draw their inspiration for a new critique of judgment. But they realise the need to "push the

Aristotelian type of theoretical analysis far beyond the point where Aristotle himself left off, and this in several different directions."[2] After all, the constant attempt of a good critic should be to formulate such conformable, accomodative, and broad-based principles that are futuristic in their outlook and are amenable to reconstruction for the consideration of newer problems. The Chicago Critics are not Neo-Aristotelian in the sense that they are mere revivalists of sorts but, as R.S. Crane explains, they have :

> tried to begin where Aristotle left off and to pursue similar lines of study in the poetics of modern literature using the distinctions he had suggested where these were relevant but attempting to enlarge his analysis in various ways in the light of the new things modern writers have achieved.[3]

Thus the Chicago Critics have distinguished and analyzed different generic forms of literature like poems, dramas—tragedy, comedy, melodrama, tragi-comedy, and the prose narrative or novels. According to Eliseo Vivas, the work of the Chicago Critics is not just a body of critical essays, but "studies of methods and techniques of criticism having enormous utility for the student of the history of aesthetics and criticism."[4]

It is my contention that the Chicagoan system can also be successfully used to interpret the latest kinds of narrative form—the cinema.

The Chicago Critics have used the Aristotelian system very successfully to discuss the structural elements of the prose narrative so that critics may be guided towards an adequate critical perspective. It is my contention that the Chicagoan system can also be successfully used to interpret the latest kinds of narrative form—the T.V. and the cinema.

In order to summarize the various aspects of art discussed so far we can say that art denotes an activity whereby the artist creates a form by imitating some action or behaviour of the humanity and the world. A piece of art is a form which is both made up and communicated by the material used by the artist. This form is organic and has all the parts necessary; nothing is superfluous. All parts are perfectly interrelated. This makes the art-form acquire the proper magnitude and excellence. All art represents, along with the artist's own emotions, something of the world's reality and something of nature. The work of art does not need any external point of reference and by the very fact of its existence, it is significant. Art should not be valued on terms of commitment (it may be a quality of the poet or the audience) but as the form that generates pleasure of a kind that often seeks to be repeated. A very powerful art-form that has evolved in this century is the cinema, a plastic art.

The relationship of film art with other arts is a very complex subject and would require a separate treatise for a thorough discussion. Here, I shall only try to prove my contention.

As soon as it was invented, cinema became a very successful means of entertainment and heralded the emergence of a new art-form. One of the major reasons for its immediate popularity may be the decay of classical arts. It was claimed that cinema was a synthesis of all arts. Parker Tyler ever calls it "the cinderella of the arts."[5] Let us examine this claim.

Most people refer to a film as "picture". Indeed, a film-story consists in the arrangement of a series of images. Cinema is obviously an art of images, a visual art. However, a concern for image composition does not mean that the film-shot remains a static image; a shot is so arranged as to be in coherence with other shots. A master film-maker Eisenstein explains that "the art of plastic composition consists in leading the spectator's attention through the exact path and with exact sequence prescribed by the author of the composition."[6] A still photograph or a painting is a closed system having its own inner movement determined by the fixed relationship of all parts among themselves. On the other hand, the life and dynamism of the entire film consists in a flowing coherence from shot to shot, frame to frame of a same sequence. Several such sequences make up an episode; many such episodes make-up the entire film. In these aspects the film means making images, yet it is vastly different from a painting.

The name "cinema" derives from both Greek "Kinema" and Latin "movere" and so it is described as moving pictures. However, the synchronisation of sound with picture have made the cinema an audio-visual medium. Sound is to be found in the cinema in the form of dialogue, music, and noise. These three basic elements of the sound-track are mounted with the picture-track in a manner which reminds one of musical harmony. Each fragment of the film bears complex relationships with the other fragments. In this regard Eisenstein says "we find a complete correspondence between the movement of the music and the movement of the eye over the lines of the plastic composition. Exactly the same motion lies at the base of both the musical and the plastic structures."[7] This motion of sound and the picture tracks are linked with the emotional movement of the film and of the engrossed spectators of the film.

The film-makers were aware of the power of the films to arouse emotional response of the spectator and so the cinema gradually evolved in a form of theatre-art. In fact, a typically popular Indian film is still a composite show made up of music, dance, and drama. Vaudeville, magic shows, and fairs were the original milieu in which the cinema grew and when it acquired respectability it joined the family of the theatre. Since the cinema can so well represent people and things, it is used successfully to show characters evolving in their surrounding to make some sort of recorded theatre. However, Susan Sontag differentiates the cinema from the theatre on three counts : first, the theatre spectator is seated in front of the stage and views the evolving scene from a fixed position or "frontality"; second, the decor of the theatre is not so essential—it can be basic (as in Elizabethan times); third, in the theatre the spoken word is the principle of organization, Sontag writes,

> The history of cinema is often treated as the history of its emancipation from theatrical models. First of all from theatrical frontality (the unmoving camera reproducing the situation of the spectator of a play fixed in his seat) then from theatrical acting (gesture needlessly stylized, exaggerated—needlessly, because now the actor could be seen 'close-up'), then from theatrical furnishings (unnecessary distancing of the audience's emotion, disregarding the opportunity to immerse the audience in reality).[8]

Sontag emphasizes the evolution of the cinema as a new art-form, advancing from "theatrical stasis to cinematic fluidity," from "theatrical artificiality to cinematic naturalness and immediateness." In other words, this means that the cinema art progressively evolved by seeking to fulfil new tasks of "expressivity." In this sense, the film is very much like poetry and especially like the novel. There have been written three remarkable studies discussing this relationship of the cinema with the novel by Eisenstein, Andre Bazin,[9] and M.C. Ropars.[10] The main links that have been established are that both the novel and the film are : narrative without being dramatic; subjective without negating the objective manifestation of a so-called reality; conducive to the treatment of time and space independent of logic or continuity so as to make them co-extensive to imaginary worlds of personal visions. Louise Brooks writes that "the great art of films does not consist of descriptive movements of face and body but in the movement of thought and soul transmitted in a kind of intense isolation.[11] Many critics agree with Brooks and so any differentiation on the basis of the "conceptual and discursive form" of the novel and the "perceptual and presentational form" of the film is confuted.

Expanded cinema makes possible all kinds of experiments with ideas, consciousness, and film language and offers unlimited scope for the film-maker to communicate with his audience. Theoretically, there are no limits to what a skilful and imaginative film maker—with help of experienced technicians—can represent on the screen.[12] The process of film-making basically consists in the creation of a complex illusory effect : the impression of continuous movement by rapid exhibition of immobile pictures, suggestion of meaning and creation of imaginary time and space by careful editing. But this does not imply that the exhibition of film shots are at random. There is a central dynamics that controls all the parts of a film that must be closely inter-linked to convey vivid depictions of what the film-maker wants to say. Of course, it goes without saying that there is a whole lot of technology involved, and each film is a unique phenomenon of expression created by expert, intelligent, and imaginative fusion of all filmic technicalities controlled by what is called the "syntagma,"[13] the montage, and the editing of films. The spectator enjoys the final fortuitous communion of all the forces of the story, script, direction, acting, lighting, edition, design, dialogue, music. Therefore each film (even the typical formula film) demands an examination and interpretation on its own merit but as Hitchcock admitted : "It wasn't message that stirred them (the audience), nor was it a great performance, or their enjoyment of the novel (on which a film may be based) . . . they were aroused by the construction of the story and the way it was told caused audiences all over the world to react and become emotional."[14] What the audience reacts to is not every shot, sequence, technicality, or artisty that has gone into its making separately but the effect of the complete whole. The pleasure of a film can be serious or tragic and comic (I am not including here the non-fictional, documentary types which are mainly propaganda movies). The tragic film effects a cathartic purging of the mind and soul just as the comic film effects what Olson terms "*katastasis*"[15] of concern through the presentation of the comic and the absurd.

The synaesthetic pleasure of the cinema depends upon the dynamis, the central plot or vision of the maker. Films can have plots of action like "2001 : The Space Odyssey," "Encounter of the Third Kind", "From Russia With Love", "Charade," Ray's "Sonar Kella," countless Western cowboy films, detective thrillers, Hindi formula films like "Sholay," "Amar Akbar Antony." Films can have plots of character like "Ben Hur", "Citizen Kane", "The Pale Rider", "Gone

With The Wind," Ray's "Charulata", the Apu trilogy, "Ghare Baire", and so on. Films can have plots of thought or psychlogical portrayal. In such films, there is bound to be difference with novels of the same kind. The rendition of mental states—the sub-conscious, memory, dream, imagination cannot be as adequately represented in film as by language. A film is not thought; it is perceived and so it cannot show thought directly. It can show characters thinking, feeling, reacting in different moments of tension. In this aspect we come to the novel's remove from a film. George Bluestone[16] says that whereas the formative principle in the novel is time, that of the film is space. Some films of thought are "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest," "The Silver Pond", "Battleship Potemkin", "Greed", "Cabinet of Doctor Caligari", "The Passion of Joan of Arc", Akiro Kurosawa's "Throne of Blood", Ray's "Kunchenjunga", Utpalendu Chakravarty's "Chopper" and so many others.

Listing of films in this fashion does not mean that those belonging to the same group can be analysed by the same principle. Each film is an independent form and must answer to such questions as what is imitated, how the different parts blend into the whole, how it compares with other films of similar plot structures. Rudolf Arnheim[17] discusses the characteristic features that control the film universe. The first element is that it draws the spectator into the flow of the film and the ubiquity of the camera enables the spectator to adopt different points of view. The second element of the film universe is the psychic time—condensed or protracted according to the requirement of the film. The third element is the clever manipulation of the audience which is made to respond according to the development of the plot. The fourth element is the actual and homogeneous nature of the events of the film that exist in the filmic time and space. The next element is the sound of the film which makes the latter a psychic universe, because here the sound is emotionally functional; so are the other devices of the filmic universe deliberately functional.

Such interpretations are possible of the cinema and these will certainly be more satisfactory than the theories that are present today as for example what Andrew Sarris[18] calls the "Auteur Theory." This theory operates with three principles. The first premise is the technical competence of a director as a criterion of value. The second premise is the distinguishable personality of the director as a criterion of value. The third and ultimate premise of the auteur theory is concerned with "interior meaning" that is extrapolated from the tension between a director's personality and his material. As is obvious, such perspectives focus the attention upon the maker/director and not the made product. To follow the system of the Chicago Critics would not only be simpler but also more satisfactory. The entire body of the films can be classified generically and then the examination of the central dynamis of each film will reveal what is represented, how it is done, and with what success.

I do not claim that my discussion of the films is extensive. It was not my desire to make it so. It is a reconnoitre of a new art form to test the viability of the Chicagoan system.

FOOT NOTES

1. R.S. Crane, *The Languages of Criticism & the Structure of Poetry* (Toronto : Toronto Univ. Press, 1953), p. 160.
2. *Ibid.*
3. R.S. Crane, Preface to *Critics & Criticism* (abridged) (Chicago : Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957), p. iii.
4. Eliseo Vivas, " The Neo Aristotelians of Chicago," *Sewanee Review* (Jan.-Mar. 1955), p. 196.
5. Parker Tyler, *Magic and Myth of Movies* (N.Y. : 1947), p. 1.
6. Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense* (N.Y. : 1957), p. 178, 190.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Susan Sontag, *Perspectives on the Study of Film* ed. J.S. Katz (Boston : 1971), p. 74.
9. Andre Bazin, *What is Cinema* trans. Hugh Gray (California : 1972).
10. M.C. Ropars—Wuilleumier, *Literature and Cinema* (Paris : 1970) trans. Armand Colin.
11. Louise Brooks quoted by Gaston Roberge in *Chitra Bani* (Calcutta : 1974), p. 83.
12. Gene Youngblood, "Art, Entertainment, Entropy", *Expanded Cinema* (N.Y. : 1970).
13. Christian Metz, "Some Points in the Semiotics of the Cinema", *Film Theory and Criticism* ed. Gerald Mast and Marshall Cohen (N.Y., London, Toronto : 1974), p. 106.
14. Hitchcock quoted by Seigfried Kracauer, "Theory of Film", *ibid.*, p. 607.
15. Olson quoted by Mast, *Film Theory and Criticism*, p. 464.
16. George Bluestone, "Novels into Films", *Film Theory and Criticism*, p. 300.
17. Rudolf Arnheim, *Film as Art* (California : 1967).
18. Andrew Serries, "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962", *Film Culture* (Winter 1962-63).

HEGELIAN DIALECT IN MATTHEW ARNOLD'S ELEGIES

Shrawan K. Sharma

Hegel maintains that thinking always proceeds according to a pattern by laying down a positive thesis which is at once negatived by its antithesis; then further thought proceeds the synthesis, and ultimately the synthesis becomes identical with its starting point except that all that was implicit there has now been made explicit.[1]

This compendium of Hegel's system consisting of threefold cycle of thesis, antithesis and synthesis is visible in Matthew Arnold's elegies. There he himself employs three regions—'Forest Glade', 'Darkling Plain or Burning Plain', and 'Wide Glimmering Sea' which are identical to thesis, antithesis and synthesis. These regions denote the life of the individual, conveying the sense of childhood, maturity or youth, and old age or death. They also stand for Past, Present and Future respectively but 'invariably have the same character : the first is a period of joyous innocence when one lives in harmony with nature, the second a period of suffering and third a period of peace in which suffering subsides into calm.'[2]

In the elegies Arnold presents the first region as a place of deep or variegated shadow, cool and well watered with clear running streams or bubbling fountains. Usually it is set in the corner of an upland field or in some sun-dappled meadow deep in the woods. For its main characteristic, apart from the springlike and virginal quality of its vegetation, is that it is secluded from the world, withdrawn and remote. The persons who inhabit it, who are mostly youth and children, live there in pristine innocence, untroubled by the problems which will later shake them in the world.

There are ample references to this glade in the elegies. Oxford possesses the characteristic of glade, where Arnold brings out his familiarity with, and love of, the countryside round Oxford and mentions that she is,

> . . . soft as spring,
> The tender purple spray on copse and briers !
> And that sweet city with her dreaming spires,
> She needs not June for beauty's heightening,
>
> *'Thyrsis'*

The setting of Oxford which has the references such as 'childsworth farm', 'the elm tree', 'Isley Downs', 'the three dam', and the 'youthful' narrow Thames shows the genuine characteristics of the glade. Even in the *Essays in Criticism* Oxford as described, 'steeped in sentimental as she lies, spreading her garden to the moonlight and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Age', is essentially a forest glade.

The same Oxford is presented in *'The Scholar-Gipsy'* where the gipsy scholar is imagined roaming as in his own day. Here she is described with the brilliant sketches of the 'Hurst in spring', 'The lone alehouse in the Birkshire Moors', 'the boat moored by the cool river bank under the warm', 'green muffled Cumner hills,' 'the maidens dancing round the fyfield elem', 'haytime Godstow Bridge', 'the glittering river haunted by black-winged swallows', 'the children ranging for cresses, 'the skirts of Bagley Wood with the gipsy tents,' and 'the forest ground called Thessaly. The gipsy is shown very lucky and fortunate in being born in such place where the evil aspects of modern life did not spoil the serene course in life. That was why, the gipsy scholar was free from the tiresomeness and lingering doubts. He never experienced the weariness of the spirit caused by repeated disappointments, and the feeble doubts and lack of confidence born of repeated failures. In the following lines, Arnold underlines the glory of past when

> . . . wits were fresh and clear,
> And life rain gaily as the sparkling Thames;
> Before this strange disease of modern life,
> With its sick-hurry its divided aims,
> It's head overtax'd, its palsied hearts.

'The Scholar-Gipsy'

Arnold holds glade as 'of fair cool northern fields, and grass and flowers.' He, taunting with his unfitness for the world, says that—

> We are like children rear'd in shade
> Beneath some old-world abbey wall,
> Forgotten in a forest glade,
> And secret from the eyes of all
> Deep-deep the greenwood round them waves
> Their abbey, and its close of graves,

'Stanzas From Carnac'

Though we have called the three regions of Arnold's world, the Forest

Glade, the Burning Plain, and the Wide Glimmering Sea, it should be understood that 'Arnold's symbols sometimes take forms not actually denoted by these names.'[3] He has, for example, sea symbolism which has the same remote pastoral character of the forest glade. This image of the sea we may have in the following lines where the poet, standing near the sea, sees sea calm, tranquil and unruffled. He holds that

> The sea is calm tonight.
> The tide is full, the moon lies fair
> Upon the straits . . .
> The sea meets the moon-blanch'd land.

'Dover Beach'

Here this 'moon blanch'd landscape' suggests, the serenity, balance and stability. In the advacing lines the sea near Dover is comapred to the 'Sea of Faith' which was full in the past like the sea of Dover at present. Just as the sea near Dover is full, so once upon a time,

> The Sea of Faith
> Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
> Lay like the folds of a bright girdled furl'd.

'Dover Beach'

Similarly the high mountain places represent the world of glade :

> The spiring-tide's brimming flow
> Heaved dazzlingly between
> Houses, with long white sweep,
> Girdled the glistening bay;
> Behind, through the soft air,
> The blue haze-cradled mountains spread away.'

'A Summer Night'

The inhabitants of this glade are of moral values and spiritual strength. In *Rugby Chapel* Anrold's father belongs to the same class. He performed his threefold work i.e. helping the good, reprimanding the bad, rousing to full consciousness those who understand good and bad only imperfectly. Arnold craves for such a character of the glorious past and says :

> O strong soul, by what shore
> Tarriest thou now ? For that Force,
> Surely, has not been left vain !
> Somewhere surely, afar,

In the sounding labour-house vast
Of being, is practised that strength
Zealous, beneficent, firm !

'Rugby Chapel'

Arnold sees Wordsworth also as the inhabitant of glade who is made to adopt the philosophy of quietism, achieving sweet calm by putting,

. . . eyes avert their ken
From half to human fate, . . .
For he pursuid a lonely road,
His eyes on Nature's plan.

'Stanzas in Memory of the Author of 'Obermann''

He is observed, 'strong . . . with a spirit free/from mists, and sane and clear,' 'who brought the spirit of man into intimate, vitalising touch with the spirit of nature.'[4] He revealed to the people of Europe the great beauty lain in natural scenes and brought back freshness and youthfulness in the hearts of people who had been mentally tortured by all sorts of conflict. The usual scenes of surrounding hills, cool breeze and bright fields presented new glories for the people. The vigour and youth of the people returned by the refreshing touch of wind and rain. Such was the invigorating healing influence of Wordsworth. "For him, Arnold selects four prime qualities—his power to bring us into sympathetic touch with nature, his 'healing power', his power of quickening the feelings, and above all, his power of making us realize the unimportance of the finite and all importance of the infinite.'[5]

He revived fresh vigour and youth into the dried up veins of his contemporaries whose hearts the iron age had patrificed. Thus he restored the people to the natural way of living and gave them the flavour of the joy of glade. For Arnold, Wordsworth is primarily a poet of forest glade which gives the echo of childhood of joyous innocence. He laid us,

... as we lay at birth
On the cool flowery lap of earth,
Smiles broke from us and we had ease;
The hills were round us, and the breeze
Went over the sun-lit fields again,
Our foreheads felt the wind and rain.
Our youth returned ;· for there was shed
On-spirits that had long been dead,

Spirits dried up and closely furl'd
Our foreheads felt the wind and rain,
The freshness of the early wood.

'Memorial Verses'

In this way, the character of the forest glade is 'the freshness of the early world' or in a word we can say the 'joy which the forest glade possessed and the burning or darking plain has lost.

The burning plain, the second region of Arnold's elegies, is very antithesis of forest glade. It is often shrouded in darkness, in fog or swirling sand. But whether, it be represented as a bleak and wintry upland or a hot and arid desert, it is always barren of vegetation. Moreover, where the glade was an enclosed, protected place, the plain is precariously open and exposed. It is the Victorian equivalent of the wasteland. As such, it is at once empty and terrifyingly full : the one thing that it is not harmoniously unified. For whereas in the forest glade man was in union with God, nature and his fellowman, here he is abandoned by God, divorced from nature and alienated from his fellowman. What is more, he is alienated from himself.

Here the first reaction of man is one of anger, looking around on the waste and desolate scene. He is bitterly indignant that the world should be such a place and that all his childhood dreams have been destroyed. And so, railing harshly against the gods, he flings himself out into the desert and races madly over the sands in the insane hope that there is some escape. We see in the frail figure clinging to the bark, in *'A Summer Night'*. Ultimately, of course, he is shipwrecked, or sinks down exhausted, or loses his way, and at this point he decides that he had better do as others have done before him knuckle under and submit to the powers that be. And so he enters one of the great cities which line the banks of the now sluggish river and there gives himself to a life of 'quiet desperation'. In his first state Arnold calls him a 'Slave'. Ostensibly, the two states are the very antithesis of each other, but ultimately they are seen to be much the same. For the 'Madman' is as much a slave to his own passions as the 'Slave' is to the world, and the world is as arid and lonely a desert as the desert is itself. Therefore the poet cries,

Is there no life, but these alone ?
Madman or slave, must man be one ?

'A Summer Night'

Confronted by this dilemma, the man is about to sink down in despair when there meets his eyes, rising as a kind of mirage from the desert, what seems to be an oasis and turns out to be a pleasure grove, with a throng of noisy merry-makers, feasting and drinking far into the night. To the man it looks as if these persons have created something analogous to the forest glade, and such may have been their intention and when they began. But as he enters and joins with the throng, he soon discovers that this grove is very different from that which he had known as a child. The figures are not those of mother, sister, father, brother who stood once for affection but self-centred

> . . . men is a brazen prison live,
> Where, in the sun's hot eve,
> With heads bent o'er their toil, they languidly
> Their lives to some unmeaning task-work give,
> Dreaming of naught, beyond their prison-wall.
> And as, year after year,
> Fresh products of their barren labour fall
> From their tired hands, and rest
> Never yet comes more near,
> Gloom settles slowly down over their breast;

'A Summer Night'

Thus the world is the recipient of men whose 'old ties—to estate, parish or town—have been broken by the new order. It has no real relation with the mass of its citizens. Here Arnold says that

> Most of man eddy about
> Here and there—eat and drink,
> Chatter and love and hate,
> Gather and squander, are raised,
> Aloft are hurl'd in the dust,
> Striving blindly, achieving
> Nothing; and then they die—
> Perish;

'Rugby Chapel'

In fact, in modern life there is undue haste in the performance of the ordinary duties of life. Man pursues diverse objects and does not have singleness of purpose. The energy of man is dissipated on diversity of pursuits. His mind is clouded and muddy, and his heart is hardened so that he is without the feelings for deep emotions. Arnold says that such modern life 'gives no bliss, yet spoils for rest.' It is marked with the disease of feverishness which has gone to the deep roots. It has deadened the hearts of the people and has crushed all finer and nobler emotions in the life. Due to this 'sudden loss of quiet', i.e. glade.

> . . . the long the way appears, which seem'd so short
> To the less practised eye of sanguine youth;
> And the high mountain-tops, in cloudy air
> The mountain-tops where is the throne of Truth.

'Thyrsis'

With this loss of faith and truth in the world, there is nothing to console us in life. Life appears to be dreamland of beauty and charm which, in fact, has no joy, no love, no light, no peace and no relief. The poet is of the opinion that this degeneration is due to the growth of material prosperity and the withdrawn of faith. With the withdrawn of faith, religion has gone out of man's life. Doubt and disbelief, scepticism and agnosticism have conspired to roll back the waves of faith from the world, which is no better than 'a barren singled beach'.

In *Dover Beach* Arnold holds fast the image of sea where an interplay between the waves and pebbles suggests the decline of faith on the darkling plain. Now the poet hears only.

> Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
> Retreating, to the breath
> Of the night-wind, down the vast edges drear
> And naked singles of the world.

He pointedly concludes that

> We are here as on a darkling plain
> Swept with confused alarms of struggle & flight,
> Where ignorant armies clash by night.

'Dover Beach'

In this way in the world the people have become strange, distant and incomprehensive to each other. For Arnold it is a traumatic experience of the burning plain whch is joyless, powerless, dimm'd and weak. This experience of darkling plain, Arnold paints saying that

> We, brought forth and rear'd in hours
> Of change, alarm, surprise—
> What shelter to grow ripe is ours ?
> What leisure to grow wise ? . . .
> Too fast we live, too much are tried,
> Too harrass'd to attain
> Wordsworth's sweet calm, or Goethe's wide

And luminous view to gain.

'Stanzas in Memory of Author of 'Obermann''

Like these modern men, for Arnold, Byron stands as the inhabitant of the present, i.e. darkling plain. In fact, 'it is the present that really interests and grips him'.[6] Unlike Wordsworth's calm and joy he has the Titanic strife. The falsehood, cynicism, insolence, misgovernment and oppression of the times rouse Byron to revolt and battle. Byronic heroes too are disillusioned man, of aristocratic descent, disgusted with pleasures and sexual indulgence, hating mankind and in revolt against social laws and conventions. These are insolvent, dandy, the daring adventure, the intrepid fighter and amorist. In this way, Byron gives the echo of struggle on darkling plain in contrast with the joyful life of forest glade. Arnold several times alludes to Byron, who

"... taught us little; but our soul
Had felt him like the thunder's roll.
With shivering heart the strife we saw
Of passion with eternal law;
And yet with reverential awe
We watched the fount of fiery life.
Which served for that Titanic strife.

'Memorial Verses'

This darkling plain, in Arnold's elegies, constitutes the true or genuine self of man who is for the most part unconscious of it. Arnold shows that man at certain stage becomes conscious of it and then arises within him an unspeakable desire to have the glorious past in his future. This phase, according to Arnold is the wide glimmering sea where man becomes hopeful for the betterment of the degenerated world. This hope, to the poet, comes when he realizes that there are always noble spirits who illumine the man and make him conscious. In his elegies there are such spirits as perform their duty, with all sincerity. Arnold, remembering Heine, says that,

Spirits, who fillest us all
Spirits, who utterest in each
New-coming son of mankind.

'Heine's Grave'

In fact, the third region, the wide glimmering sea is the phase of reconciliation endowed with the world of peace and calm where new hope springs. On the elegies Arnold conceives the despairing philosophers as insisting that a new hope must spring and the world be made a new by 'thought and joy'. It is nothing less than the return of health after long illness when,

> Unquiet souls !
> —In the dark fermentation of earth,
> In the never idle workshop of nature,
> In the eternal movement,
> Yet shall find yourselves again !

'Haworth Churchyard'

In this regard Goethe's example is instructive. His profound imperturbable naturalism tends irresistibly to sap all routine thinking. Arnold calls him as the physician of iron age who, having observed the Europe of 'fitful dreams' ferverish power, 'waltering strife', 'turmoil of expiring life' consoles his contemporaries and points out the exact nature and magnitude of these ailments and suggests their remedies that,

> . . . The end is everywhere,
> Art still has truth, takes refuge there !
> And he was happy, if to know
> Causes of things, and far below
> His feet to see the lurid flow
> Of terror, and insane distress,
> And headlong fate be happiness.

'Memorial Verses'

One thing is noteworthy here that inspite of the loss of faith in society, the poet does not lose his heart but finds a hope in one way or the other. In *Dover Beach* he finds consolation, a heaven of rest and peace in true love. He believes that in a successful love relationship he may discover certain values which are not readily to be found on the burning plain. In the elegies this burning plain is replaced by the wide glimmering Sea when,

> Pass banners, pass, and bugles, cease;
> And leave our desert to its peace !

'Stanzas From the Grande Chartreus'

It is interesting to note the same echo in the following lines :

> . . . the rapture of peace
> Deep hath embreathed at its core ;

Made it a ray of thy thought,
Made it a beat of thy joy !

'Heine's Grave'

In fact, this transition to the third phase is not an ordinary moment but a moment of inward illumination in which thinking that we are in desert, we suddenly discover that we are not but are in a path leading to the city of God or the wide glimmering sea. *Rugby Chapel* illustrates this idea. It explains when the danger to the army of mankind is most imminent, great man appears like angel and leads it from shore of utter ruin to the city of God. Addressing his father who stands for noble spirit, he says that,

In such hour of need
Of your fainting, dispirited race,
Ye, like angels, appear,
Radiant with ardour divine !
Beacons of hope, ye appears !
Langour is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow,
Ye alight in our van ! at your voice,
Panic, despair, flee away.
Ye move through the ranks, recall
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
Praise, re-inspire the brave !
Order, courage, return !

'Rugby Chapel'

The concluding stanza of *'A Summer Night'* also gives the sense of hope against the life on darkling plain where there is no other way of leading life, except the life of a slave and the role of a mad person. Here it is clearly revealed that the heavens partake in the works done on earth and have a message to man. Situated far above the reach of human beings, the heavens reveal how man's aspiration and his soul's desires can be great. In this way a ray of hope and joy blends together. The poet holds to let man see,

How boundless might his soul's horizons be,
How vast, yet of what clear transparency !
How it were good to abide there, and breathe free;
How fair a lot to fill
Is left to each man still !

'A Summer Night'

In fact, the lives of the protagonists of these elegies are imaged by the still point, the moment of stasis, far above and yet plumbing far below the world's surface. Now the forest glade and darkling plain are synthesized with

> . . . the unconquerable hope,
> Still clutching the inviolable shade,
> With a free, onward impulse brushing through,
> By night, the silver'd branches of the glade—
> Far on the forest-skirts, where none pursue,
> On some mild pastoral slope
> Emerge, and resting on the moonlit pales
> Freshen thy flowers as in former years
> With dew, or listen with enchanted ears,
> From the dark dingles, to the nightingales !

'The Scholar-Gipsy'

In this way, in a conventional manner, a note of hope and consolation is now struck. There is a transition of grief and despair to joy and hope. Similar transition meets in *Thyrsis* where the poet regards the discovery of the tree as a good omen, as it indicates that the scholar gipsy is yet alive, still searching for truth. The poet says that—

> . . .the light we sought is shining still.
> Our tree yet crown the hill,
> Our scholar travels yet the loved hillside :

'Thyrsis'

Similarly in *Obermann Once More* the poet sees the 'morning break without a sound/Across the glimmering lake/High in the Valais depth profound'. In fact, now the poet experiences

> Emblem of hope over the grave,
> In the high altar's depth divine;
> The organ carries to our ear
> Its accent of another sphere.

'Stanzas from The Grande Chartreus'

Thus the elegies of Arnold have the three-fold cycle of Forest Glade, Darkling Plain or Burning Plain and Wide Glimmering Sea which are, no doubt, identical to thesis, antithesis and synthesis. This cycle also suggests the life of a man, i.e. childhood, maturity and old age. For him these are the past, and present and the future. The present is always mechanical because this is the kind of theory of history that arises in mechanical periods. It declares that the things were better in the past and that they will be better again in the future.

REFERENCES

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica;* Vol. II; p. 310.
2. *Critics on Matthew Arnold;* Jacqueline E.M. Latham, ed. (London, 1973); p. 27.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 28.
4. H.C. Duffin; *Arnold The Poet;* (London, 1962), p. 95.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 94.
6. Compion Rickett; *A History of English Literature,* (Delhi; 1978) p. 334.

BLACK ENGLISH : A DIFFERENT APPROACH

Kailash S. Aggarwal

An attempt is made in this paper to place the discussion of Black English (hereafter BE) in a theoretical context, outlining the main contours of the black language in terms of the nondominant culture acting and reacting in a dominant culture environment.

Any treatment of language inevitably provokes debate because language is not only a tool of communication, it is also a vehicle for socio-cultural, national identity. The subject of dialects is particularly susceptible to a variety of controversies. As the present treatment of BE is concerned with developing a perspective rather than with offering any objective description of the properties of the dialect, it is offered as a contribution of the debate on the status of BE in the context of black aesthetics and black nationalism.

Presuming no ideology, black nationalism is the belief and consciousness that most black people (in America) share a common life-style, aesthetic and world-view, often expressed in a distinctively black language in literature, music and art. Considering the broad implications of the descriptive studies of BE and the socio-political perspectives on this distinct variety of English, the paper would emphasize the fact that blacks would consciously struggle for a long time to come to exist distinctly as blacks resisting all attempts at assimilation and integration into mainstream America.

I

Most of the descriptions of BE (Steward, 1967; Labov, 1969; Baratz and Shuy, 1969; Lolfram, 1969 and many others) are based on the follwing four linguistic principles :

1. All languages are structured-every language is a network of systems.
2. All societies have a structured language. Even those societies considered in a comparative sense as "primitive" or 'aboriginal' have fully developed language systems.
3. All languages constantly change, in terms of their respective vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation.
4. Spoken language is primary and written secondary. There are

several spoken languages without a written form but there is no written language without a spoken form.

Language is an abstract system. What really exists is a dialect. And we can note three major characteristics of dialects :

1. Every dialect has a structured grammatical system i.e. every dialect is a language system in itself.
2. Dialects differ from each other systematically.
3. There are historical and cultural reasons for dialect differences.

The phrases "Black English", "Black dialect' and 'Black language' are relatively new phenomena. For nearly 500 years the oral communicative patterns of Black Americans were considered 'sub-standard', 'corrupt', 'ungrammatical', 'sloppy' and the like. Black people were accused of "destroying" the English language and of exihibiting pronunciation and grammatical errors related to ignorance and to laziness. Such language patterns were believed to be the primary reasons for the lack of social and economic progress of the blackmen in America, as the language patterns, along with skin color, were considered, "the last barriers to integration" (Green, 1963).

In the 1960s many researchers(Stewart, 1967; Labov, 1969; Wolfram, 1969) recognized the consistency of linguistic patterns in the speech of black individuals. They recognized that the non-standard patterns of black speech were not accidental but had predictable sound patterns and grammatical structures. Many linguists recognized the legitimacy of black speech as a"well-ordered, highly developed linguistic system" used for day to day communication in the black community and that it satisfied all the requirements of any linguistic system in terms of communicability, consistency and predictability. They also recognized that mainstream American English is no better than BE or any other language.

The term 'Mainstream Amercican English' is used by scholars since the beginning of the 1970s to avoid the apparent dominant—subordinate relationship between the terms "Standard English" and "Black English". Mainstream American English (hereafter MAE) has been defined as "text-book language". It is the language of the socially, politically and economically prestigious people in the country. It is the language of the best classroom, the White House and other institutions of high esteem. It is also the language of the black middle class and black bourgeoise as well as others seeking membership in Mainstream America.

Language patterns which deviate from MAE are looked down upon as being inferior. The speakers of these non-standard dialects are rejected on the basis of stereotyped expectations based on social and cultural factors. BE is one of these rejected language patterns. It is the language of the black people and has undergone tremendous changes over the last two centuries. BE is used most frequently by black people in low income environments. Not all Black people speak BE. Some use it exclusively, while few BE patterns appear in the speech of others. Some black people never speak BE and many others use it in special situations and for special effects. Such people speak MAE in situations requiring it and BE in other situations. The context determines which variety or dialect is used. Such switching in often unconscious and reflexive.

BE varies among black speakers. Some black speakers cannot be identified on the basis of oral communication. Language patterns of black people vary as a function of "sex, age, social class, family structure, community size, degree of family and environmental assimilation, amount and type of exposure to white communities, and geography". (Taylor, 1961). BE reflects dialect regionalism as prominently as does MAE. A black individual in New York speaks a different variety of BE than does a black California resident. BE is also determined by the amount of interaction with MAE. In communities where the black population is physically and socially segregated, the speech of the black people is relatively undisturbed by interference with MAE. On the other hand, in communities in which there is a great deal of cross-cultural communication, BE and MAE have influenced each other significantly.

BE is not only rejected by the dominant culture; it is not completely accepted in the black community either. The response of many black peole to BE is similar to the response of MAE speakers (Williams, 1970). Such a response has been conditioned no doubt. Moreover, instrumental motivation lures them to MAE. There seems to be a conditioned belief that success in America depends upon the individual's ability to blend into the American culture. Blacks who insist on speaking the distinctive language of their culture are often denied employment in the profession of their choice. At the other hand of the scale, sentimental motivation makes the black people retain the distinctiveness of their speech. No doubt, BE is one of the highest expression of black culture. It has persisted in spite of the tremendous effort of the dominant culture to eliminate. It is found to be difficult to communicate specific black ideas and thoughts through

MAE. For example, it is impossible to "fuss" in MAE. Further, BE "provides a vital and ongoing cohesive device, recognizable as characteristically and uniquely black." (Abrahams, 1970).

On the whole, it can be safely said that BE will continue as long as blacks continue in America. One only needs to examine the attitudes and prejudices that go a long way to determine what is being rejected —the people or the language ? The individual who employs BE consistently in all situations should be admired for his courage, strength, and dedication to his language and culture.

II

The controversial issues surrounding black language remain, however, unresolved, even though various theories have been advanced and conclusions drawn in this regard. (R. Williams, 1975; Brasch, 1981). All the language models and theories with regard to BE can be identified under two broad categories—theories that deny the existence of a distinctively adequate black language and theories that recognize such a thing.

Theories that deny the existence of a separate language trace BE deviant forms (in relation to MAE) to cultural deprivation and genetic inferiority (Brasch, 1981). They argue that in addition to environment and culture, blacks are inferior in cognitive and linguistic skills due to genetic inferiority and anatomic differences in lips, larynx and other speech organs.

In contrast, a large body of rhetoric poured forth with the civil rights demands of the 1960s and the government grants of 1970. Scholars argued that BE is logical and different of socio-cultural differences but not deficient (Labov, 1970) .

To determine the significance of the controversies surrounding BE and to understand BE in the socio-cultural milieu of the United States, we shall discuss the phenomenon with regard to

(a) the question of language and politics;

(b) the question of self-determination of language philosophies.

In recent years, there have been charges that negative attitudes and actions toward BE are politically based. Black scholars allege that theories and models regarding black inferiority and cultural disadvantages have been developed due to political motives. They further accuse that dialect geographers who tend to concentrate on the linguistic features and sources of BE, do so only from the dominant culture perspective. In fact, they relate practical politics of society to language studies (Williams, 1975). Williams (1975), infact, places cultural politics at the apex of the BE controversy in noting that such misguided social science study is in tune with the political tone of the times.

Reinforcing this political argument, several black scholars make reference to inappropriate labels used to describe BE due to dominant culture biases. They assert that in most instances, non-standard English and Black English have been inappropriately used interchangeably. Non-standard English is neither Black English nor uniquely used by blacks. Smith (1977) goes further to indicate that even the term BE shows racial bias because of its inconsistency with other terms. He remarks that "no one refers to English spoken by Indians as "red English" or that of Chinese as "Yellow English", or not even that of whites as "White English" but Standard English."

In addition to taking exception to labels used, black theorists also refer to the double standard in black and white American culture. They view attitudes and practices as being as much a matter of who has the bulk of political power as it is a matter of language. Reminiscing about her childhood, Covington (1976) explains that, "as children we know that certain jobs were open only to white children. It made no difference what variety of English we spoke (just as it did not make a difference in Nazi Germany that many Jews spoke flawless German without accent when the programme started." Smitherman (1972) makes a cogent assessment of the political realities surrounding black language : "It is exiomatic that if black people were in power in this country, black English would be the prestige idiom." Summing up the political ramifications in a later article, Smitherman (1981) asserts "As long as we have two separate societies in contact and conflict, we are going to have two separate language."

Coming to the question of self-determination, it has been asserted that the blacks and only the blacks have the right to define their language. Black scholars argue that black language must be studied and conclusions drawn from the world view from which the language originates. Asante (1981) postulates that "if rhetorical theory emerges out of a given philosophical world view and we can discuss the uniqueness of black discourse and suggest . . . . theoretical directions, then surely a criticism must emerge capable of handling the peculiarities of the theory. Otherwise we have asked the apple to compare to the mango's sweetness and softness."

Black scholars have noted and rejected the passive and ironic position in which they were placed during the earlier analysis of black communication. Holt (1975) explains that the black people were only superficially gathered as data collectors in areas where white reserchers would have faced difficulty." With limited exceptions, white intellectuals excluded black intellectuals in the development of black English as a blue print for social engineering . . . Given the fact of culture differences, it necessarily follows that culturally different enquiries may produce culturally different results." More often than not, incorrect conclusions have been drawn, whether innocently or purposely, by theorists who are only familiar with the surface culture of the black language.

Such a self-determination stance could be taken as a "separatist ideology" or "reverse racism". But nothing could be further from the truth. The explanations simply emphasize the fact that African American theorists who understand the deep culture and structure of BE are most likely to interpret meanings and directions correctly.

In conclusion, the approaches to BE that have been advocated by black scholars have responded to the political realities that nurture negative cultural attitudes toward BE. Black theorists have also self-determination in their right to analyse the phenomenon of black communication for themselves.

Note : I am indebted to American Studies Research Centre, Hyderabad for the facilities provided for this maiden study.

REFERENCES :

1. Abrahams, Roger D. (1970) *Positively Black* Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice Hall Inc.
2. Asante, M.K. (1980) *Afrocentricity : The Theory of Social Change.* Buffalo, New York Amulefi.
3. Baratz. S.S. and J.C. Baratz (1970), "Early Childhood intervention : the social base of institutional racison." *Harvard Educational Review* 110.
4. Baratz, J.C. and Roger Shuy, (eds.) (1969). *Touching Black Children to Read* Washington E.C. Centre for Applied Linguistics.
5. Brasch, W.M. (1981), *Black English and the Mass Media* Amherst : University of Massuchussetts. Press.
6. Covington, A.J. (1976). "Black people and black English : attitudes and deducation in a biased macroculture" In D.S. Harrison and T. Mabasso (eds) *Black English : A Seminar* Hillsdale, N.S. Lawrence Evlbaum.
7. DuBois, W.E.B. (1916) "That Capital 'N' " IN *Crisis* 11.
8. —(1935). "A Negro Nation withma Nation" IN *Current History,* 42.

9. Firtune, T. Thomas (1906). "Who are We ? Afro-Americans, Colored People, or Negroes". *In Voice of the Negroes* 3.

10. Emanuel, James A. (1968). *The Tree House and Other Poems.* Detroit.

11. Green George C. (1963). "Negro Dialect, The Last Barrier to Integration" *In Journal of Negro Education,* 32, No. 1 Winter.

12. Grant, George S. (1926). "What Are We ?" *In Passenger* B.

13. Harrison, D.S. and T. Trabasso (eds.) (1970). *Black English :* A Seminar Hillsdals, N.J. Lawrence Erlbaum.

14. Holt, G. (1975), "Blcak English : Surviving the bastardization Process "*In* R.L. Williams (ed.) *Ebonics : The True Language of Black Floks* St. Louis : Institute of Black Studies.

15. Labor, William (1969). "Contraction, Deletion, and Inherent Variability of the English Copula" *IIV Language* 45.

16.—(1970). "The Logic of non standard English" *In* F. Williams (ed.) *Language and Poverty : Perspective on a theme.* Chicago : Markham.

17.—(1970). ***The Study of*** *Non-standard English* Campaign III. : National Council of Teachers of English.

18. Moore, Richard B. (1960), *The Name "Negro", Its Origin and Evil* Use New York.

19. Shuy, Roger W. (1967), *Discovering American Dialects.* Champain III. : National Council of Teachers of English.

20. Smith, E.A. (1977). Ebonics Seminar St. Louis : St. Louis Community College at Florissant Valley Missouri.

21. Smitherman, G. (1972). "English teacher, why you be doing the thangs you don't do ?" *English Journal.*

22.—(1981). *"Black English" So good it's bad." In Essence* 154.

23. Stewart, William A. (1967). "Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects" *In Florida FL Reporter* 5 (Spring).

24. Taylor, Orlando (1969), *An Introduction to the Historical Development of Black English : Some Implications for American Education.* Washington De. Centre for Applied Linguistic.

25. Williams, F. (1970). *Language and Poverty* Chicago, Markham.

26. Williams, R.L. (1975), *Ebanics : The True Language* of Block Folks St. Louis : Institute of Black Studies.

27. Wolfram, Walter A. (1969). *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech* Washington D.C. Centre for Applied Linguistics.

THE EFL TEXTBOOK AND THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Rahul Khanna

Introduction

Most teachers of English use textbooks. In India, teachers in undergraduate classes generally use a couple of textbooks taking their students through them from beginning to end. These textbooks are normally written by experienced and well-qualified people and the material contained in them is usually carefully tested in pilot studies in actual teaching situations before publication. Textbooks from reputable publishers, if properly selected and used, can serve teachers well. I use the word 'serve' because, to my mind, the teacher has to formulate teaching objectives with the needs of the learners in mind, and then seek strategies within the selected published material in order to achieve those objectives.

The larger objective of the textbook, of course, is to equip the learner to use English in a limited range of situations to be determined by two main considerations : (i) The basis on which the course is designed should combine usefulness and application in the outside world with learnability in the classroom, that is, they should be realistic and practicable; (ii) The language selected to be taught to the learner should have communicative potential and, at the same time it should be structurally relatively simple and graded through the course.

But in using texts in the classrooms, it is to be remembered that they are just one means of learning, just one aid to the language learning process, which also depends upon individual learners, their needs and their relationships in the classroom and teachers and students should find their own ways of using a textbook to suit these conditions. Moreover, no textbook is totally suited to a particular teaching situation. The teacher may often have to adopt it. So we need not look for a perfect textbook one—which would meet all our requirements—but rather for the best possible fit between what the textbook offers and what we as teachers and learners need. In Alan Cunningworth's words, "our teaching must have at its base a consideration of what our students need to learn ... what they will do with English on completing their course."[1]

The Indian learner's needs in general may be looked at from the following standpoints : (1) Language (structural/communicative; written/spoken, merely formally organised/matched with the social context), (ii) methodology (Behaviourally/cognitively oriented towards language production on the learner's part); (iii) content (dogmatic/pragmatic in relation to the learner's real world experience and social condition); (iv) psychological bearing (motivational value—whether or not the materials take into account the learner's social aspirations and his objectives in society; and are thus of genuine interest); (v) general assessment (whether encouraging self-reliance or teacher support in exercise materials); and (vi) application (Are the materials in the textbook sufficiently substantive and variegated to allow the teacher/learner to make his choice to suit his ends). Of these, I propose to concentrate in this paper on (iii) and (iv) and deal particularly with the points of contact between the EFL textbook and the social reality, with the Indian case in point.

India is one of those countries where English is taught largely as a second language, i.e., there is always at least one other language in the picture, which is the mother-tongue, and which varies with different states or ethnic groups. But English is needed to provide an important means of communication in administration and a means of communication with the larger world. No wonder that these and many other factors have a special bearing on the learning and use of English here. Educational researchers in general and ELT scholars in particular should have a clear notion of such factors. It is necessary to consider the following :

(i) How much English is needed to be used in the day-to-day life by various sections of the Community ?

(ii) For what particular purpose is English going to be employed ?

(iii) What kind of English would be suitable for these different purposes ?

(iv) What larger objectives are to be aimed at in the context of national needs?[2]

As regards the quantum of English to be taught and the extent of the use of English, the mass media and entertainments alone can tell us how widespread the use of English is going to be in the community. In devising our textbooks, we have to take into consideration how much English is required to be taught, and this will depend on the use of English in the English language broadcasts, cinema, publications, government departments, etc. Again, we have to find out the various purposes for which English is used in society e.g. in services, industries, shops, hotels etc. Another important consideration is that of the forms of English that are to be used for various purposes—these forms depending on the degree of difference between local English and standard English. Let us also ask as to what practical application we make of our knowledge of English in society, e.g. our students need to write, among others, the following things in English; description (say of objects, instruments), narration, letter-writing, reporting events, summarising, translating. Indian students need to put English to definite uses, and to this end, they have to learn to communicate with other people in the society. (This fact is kept central by Mrs. Sarah Freeman in devising her book *Written Communication in English,* Orient Longman, 1977). Let us ask these questions : What are the differences of grammatical patterns and vocabulary between the two ? What is the extent of interference and borrowing in English from the mother-tongue ? Some people may be learning English for functional purposes alone and may require only relatively limited competence. Our view of the objectives of teaching English will depend on answers to some of the questions raised above. We can ill afford to ignore the social factors affecting the use of English in our community.

The Relevance of Social Factors

In the last few decades, in special since 1950's, language has been increasingly accepted as a phenomenon rooted deeply in social reality. Malinowski's voice is heard eloquently arguing the social point of view as early as 1923 : "Language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture, the tribal life and customs of people, and . . . it cannot be explained without constant reference to these broader context of verbal utterance."[3] Shortly after World War II, Lewis (1947), an educationist and psychologist thought that mind is behaviour mediated by symbolisation in society. According to him language problems could be considered from sociological perspectives. Weinreich's book *Languages in Contact* (1953) and a later study in bilingualism further paved the way to a sociology of language. Bernstein formulated in late fifties and early sixties his ideas on the relation between language and social factors. His important contention was that there is a systematic relationship between social class and language. As a result of the recognition of Bernstein's ideas on education, in 1964, a sociological research unit was set up at the London Institute of Education under his direction. The above-mentioned social thinkers and many more believed that utterances become intelligible only when they are placed within their context of situation. Today, our conception of context has broadened and we no longer pass it over as irrelevant. Modern definitions of communicative competence all seem to reiterate the need of situational presentation of language, in order to make it as true to life as possible. Looking at the social aspect of teaching English in India, no less than in other countries there is seen need to introduce communicative remedial materials at various levels of teaching of English. Remedial texts imply a special observation and analysis of the learning difficulties, provision of specially experienced teachers and consultants, and pointed study of the etiology of deficient learning, preferably in situations of actual use of English wherever this language obtains in our society.

Our textbooks need to take into account the social class differences, and the socio-economic level in society of the learner and his backward or rural background. Then alone will our textbooks be of real help to the mass of struggling learners. We have to set aside a certain elitism that has been a badge of our teaching materials, both in their context and presentation. We have to do without expensive gadgetry like language labs or electronic reproduction aids, and incorporate certain components in the textbook itself in order to deal with the present day requirements of the Indian situation. For example, we will have to devise texts in a manner that would help us in coping with over-populous classes and the peculiar difficulties of our economically and culturally backward rural students.

The EFL Textbook : Class Room Tool

It is all right to dismiss the textbook as a non-essential tool in our moments of idealism or extreme liberal thinking or where teaching of English is carried on under rather helpful conditions. But as things go in most countries of the third world, we have to be realistic in the pursuit of our goals, particularly in our class rooms is suburban towns. We have to suit our methodology and materials relatively to time and place. Among other things, it is highly important to pragmatically define the goals that our materials are supposed to help achieve, especially under the following two conditions, generally prevailing in the developing countries :

(i) A large number of teachers are poorly qualified;

(ii) Our teaching materials are generally in grave need of being reorganised. One way out of this present-day morass in the art of teaching English is rightly understood by some prospective teachers, to supply to the teacher well-designed teaching materials, accompanied by guidelines as to the appropriate methods with which they are to be used. According to Beeby teaching of English would do better if teachers are trained properly to teach

> specific courses and are made to rely on specially designed materials, as combination of content and method in a sort of package deal in teaching materials certainly represents an attainable goal.[4]

The condition of the typical Indian classroom today calls for certain necessary features to be incorporated in the textbook. For instance, the textbook has got to have sufficiently substantive and variegated materials to afford flexibility of its use by the teacher and the learner. We cannot expect a teacher to feel at ease and prove efficient with a too compactly designed textbook in the face of the usual large classes. In order to enable the teacher to deal efficiently with the laggards and to extend individual supervision, it is still more recommendable that some exercise materials is transferred to the student book so that students can use their initiative to handle some of them. Thus the role of the textbook ought to be of an "ideas bank" i.e., of a storehouse of ideas and a source of practical examples to aid the teacher in teaching particular topics and to stipulate his creative potential.

Most of our College students come from rural background, and suffer from serious decapacitation on account of social and cultural disparity, and general poverty. This handicap is seen to affect adversely their education including their language learning, in a number of definite ways. Their habits in their own language interfere with their learning of English. Wolfram and Fasold, who have made a thorough study of this area of English learning, state their views as follows :

> In the course of their study of social variation in language, many sociologists have realised that what they were learning had potential for educational application. The lists of the publications of almost all of the linguists who have studied social variation include some written for educators. In addition, a few worked directly with teachers in schools . . . . This involvement has led to the realization that language differences *per se* are only a small part of the problems faced by educators of economically impoverished children.[5]

The cost of the textbook often needs to be brought down. It is an incontrovertible fact that mass of Indian students at college level cannot easily afford expensive textbooks and a large number of them tend to go without them for economic reasons. It may sound a little extraneous to talk of the question of the cost of books for classroom use in relation to efficacious teaching-learning but certainly mosts do limit and modify our choice and even the use of textbooks. For instance, often they work against our opting for a comprehensive and uptodate text or anthology. Costs may force teachers to recommend a greater use of the reading room, where, again, fewer copies are likely to be available. Costs may also make a faculty member wary of assigning texts that are rarely put to use in the class. Hence, if not always directly important in themselves, these considerations are, in practice, likely to weigh heavily with the teacher and students in all sorts of ways.

For another thing, our need to be made more pointed in catering to certain specific needs in society. Possibly, one of the things we ought to aim at the college level is imparting sufficient proficiency in the different language skill areas to enable the students to progress so effectively as possible in certain subjects other than English. This would, as H.G. Widdowson shows in *Teaching Language as Communication,* serve certain communicative ends too, for using contexts of employment of English or other subjects introduce life-likeness to the classroom.[6] In any case, it is an urgent need of Indian students to gain sufficient mastery of functional English for understanding subjects of physical and social sciences. In this sense, as recommended by the Study Group on Teaching of English, we in this country need to think in terms of English for specific purposes.[7] In this matter, among others, India, like many other countries of the Middle-East and Africa, stands in need of equipping college level students with a brand of English which is both nationally acceptable and internationally intelligible (See Tiffen, 1974 for a study of similar problems in Nigeria[8]).

General Requirements

1. Textbooks should be rooted in the Indian environment and the social and cultural interests of Indian students should be taken into account.
2. As matters stand with the present state of the vocation of teaching of English as a foreign language in our country the main principle of organization would have to be grammatic-structural, but the substance, presentation and practice should emphasize, at least limitedly, the principle of communication.
3. In order to ensure understanding of the essential elements of the culture behind the target language for purposes of language learning, textbooks should be illustrated with pictures and diagrams, especially where explanation would not be enough. (This may, however, be categorically asserted that our textbooks

should not be centrally oriented towards introduction to the culture of the English-speaking world).

4. Although due emphasis needs to be given to productive skills for the specific ends of our students, to be determined socially, the main aim of textbooks would have to be to prepare students to use English as a study language and thus emphasize receptive skills, particularly reading.

A fact of Indian conditions of teaching English as a foreign language is that at the same time as being taught standard English, our students are vastly exposed to Indian English. As teachers engaged in the task of teaching our students the idiom which would be internationally intelligible, we cannot afford to shut our eyes to this fact. We cannot get away with prescribing complete purity of standard English because today we know more than ever before that language is not just grammar or usage but a medium of communication in actual use in society. Whereas the old-type "error-analysis" may not go all the way to guide us as to what can be done or should be done and we have to go more by performance (so that we have to emphasise more the problems of organization and developments i.e., supra sentence features), we must still take into account the denotational and connotational differences of individual lexical items. We have to make our students aware of those places where an Indian English variant would be definitely inadvisable and those others where it can pass muster. For example, it is important to indicate the need of sticking to British English usage in the case of words like "anything", "Octroi", and "uncle". Thus in the response "anything" to the question to a guest "What would you have ?" A Britisher would read puzzlement and lack of politeness, but nothing of marked significance would be noticed by an Indian speaker. The term "octroi" simply does not exist in British usage and there "uncle" would not be used to indicate ordinary closeness outside family relationship. On the contrary, the Indian English usage "I gave my wife a finger-ring" and "what is your good name ?" would be easily comprehensible despite being peculiar to Indian English. Perhaps what can be done in the present situation is that the teacher may assiduously attend to things like capitalization, punctuation, spellings etc. in the beginning, and ignore the dialect differences (or errors) until much later.[9] Certainly in future we have to give greater latitude to such differences both in teaching and testing in order to cope with the above-mentioned fact of the present-day Indian life. May be in course of time we come to regard a whole variety of apparent errors in the written work of our students in the strictest sense, as not errors at all, but simply a reflection in writing of the differences in grammar, pronunciation and verbal expression between the Indian English and British Standard. (All this should not be taken to mean that we do not recognise that there always can also be errors which cannot be traced to dialect interference and have to be considered genuine errors.)

Finally, whether we are relying predominantly on authentic materials or on specially written texts, these days generally the impact of learning from them beyond the academy is nothing but negative. Most of textbook reading is done under duress, and our textbooks hardly play any part in the lives of our students outside college in the form of how-to-do-books. Somehow, there looms large the need to combine specificity of purpose with durability of value of the materials in the lives of students. As Kenneth E. Eble counsels in his influential book *The Craft of Teaching*, "the teacher's highest aims in respect to the use of texts may be those of not turning students away from reading but of illuminating the range of experience and pleasure that can come from the written word, and of keeping alive curiosity and willingness to learn by whatever means the real world offers.[10]

It may be concluded that the EFL textbook ought to be seen not merely from the linguistic and academic vantage points but also from the vastly more important angle of the social context, that is, in juxtaposition with the social and national imperatives. There is a contingent need of determining what the students need to learn and what they will do with their English outside the academy. Along with teaching methods, our materials should be conceived pragmatically in relation to the students' real world experience and social conditions and aspirations. More than ever before we need to take into regard the question of the Indian aspect of the dialect we choose to adopt for the classroom. English courses have to be diversified to suit the peculiar requirements of the students concerned. More emphasis has to be laid on remedial teaching, and better teacher training, and specially designed textbooks have to be pressed into service. All in all, the EFL textbook has to be made more pertinent of application to students actual purposes, and yet so rich and varied in its contents as to permit larger freedom to the teacher in actual classroom use. The EFL textbook has, in essence, to be made more balanced in reflection of foreign culture and appreciation to the student's own way of life, and suffused with a tinge of the spirit of our social being.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Evaluating and Selecting EFL Teaching Materials* (London : Heinemaon Educational Books Ltd., 1984), p. 5.

2. R.V. White discusses these social factors in relation to planning of the ESL syllabuses in *ELT.*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1972), pp 8-15.

3. Malinowski, B. "The problem of meaning in primitive languages," C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, 1923 pp. 451-510.

4. C.E. Beeby, *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 55-56.

5. Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold, "Social Dialects and Education" J.B. Pride, Ed., *Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language and Teaching*. (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 186.

6. H.G. Widdowson, *Teaching Language as Communication* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1978).

7. *Report of the study group on Teaching of English :* (New Delhi : Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Govt. of India, 1971), being the report of study group appointed by the Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Govt. of India in 1969. The group reviewed the needs of the present situation and recommended, among other things "the provision of different courses to suit different levels of attainment; stages of learning, circumstances of teaching and learning and terminal objectives." (p.3)

8. Briam Tiffen, "The Intelligibility of Nigerian English" Ph.D Diss. London 1974.

9. R.W. Shuy, "Sociolinguistics and teacher attitudes in a Southern school system," in D.M. Smith and R.W. Shuy, etc., *Sociolinguistics in Crose-Culture Analysis* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press) rightly lays down that in the beginning "one method of revising current materials for non-standard dialect speakers is to simply eliminate features that might predictably be problematic for the non-standard speaker because they are not integral part of his linguistic system." The wider field of text selection should teach us to exclude examples of idiosyncratic language and to concentrate on more typical examples. "The language we wish to present to the learner should be coherent in the sense of having a large number of linguistic features regularly recurring . . ." Alexander Baird, "Varieties of English : Some Factors influencing Text Selection," *ELT*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (1972).

10. Kenneth E. Eble, *The Craft of Teaching : A Guide to Mastering the Professor's Art*. (San Francisco : Jersey-Bass Publications, 1977), pp. 90.

BAUMGARTNER'S BOMBAY—AN ASSESSMENT

Usha Bande

Hugo Baumgartner, Anita Desai's protagonist in *Baumgartner's Bombay*, is one of those unfortunate beings who lose moorings early in life and remain rootless drifters, never belonging anywhere. Alone and friendless, this meek and inoffensive German Jew is as alienated in the country of his adoption, India, as he was in the country of his birth. Germany, with its ever-mounting anti-Semitic tensions, rejects him; India, with her own myriad problems, her poverty and squalor, accepts him. India's intriguing simplicity fascinates him, her tolerant bosom gives him shelter, but somehow he does not seem to have been absorbed by her. He is a foreigner, a "firangi,"[1] never quite a part of the scenery.

Hugo is the son of an affluent furniture merchant, who walked the streets of Berlin with an ivory-knobbed cane, with "pride, ownership, status," and above all with "decorum" (p. 25). His father's kingdom, his showroom was lined with "elegantly languorous *chaises-longues* in carved mahogany," and his mother's domain upstairs was richly decorated with gilt frames, leather-bound books and such other decoration pieces that give life to the living room. But, it all came to an end when his father was taken to Dachau, from where he came back, only to wither away fast. Young Hugo was flabbergasted to see friends disappear overnight, relationships change into cautious neglect, and all human warmth turn icy. The "Gentleman from Hamburg" always a "concerned, polite, helpful" visitor, took over his father's business, and tried to get rid of the Baumgartners—Hugo and his mother.

For Hugo, life is a saga of suffering and alienation with intermittaet periods of comforts and affluence, but seldom of real happiness. As a Jew, he does not belong to the Berlin of his childhood rife with racial prejudices and religious hatred. He learns early that "he did not belong to the picture-book world of the fir tree, the gifts and the celebrations" of Christmas, and that the "radiant" and the "triumphant" world was not for him (p. 36). He accepts life stoically, never expecting anything, hardly ever claiming anything beyond what it holds out to him.

Pre-war India is a haven for Hugo. His timber business flourishes. Calcutta-life is a round of clubs and dances and drinks. Here, he meets

Lotte, his only life-long lover-friend. With the outbreak of the war, Baumgartner once again is the suspect, this time not as a Jew but as an alien-enemy—a German. He, along with other Germans in India, is interned in a camp. For six years, he suffers the alienation of camp-life where his own countrymen are divided into the Aryans and the Jews and Hugo is once again a stranger amid his own people.

After the war, he encounters a strife-torn Calcutta, too perilous to afford him any security. It has recently emerged from a ravaging famine and is now in the grip of communal frenzy. There is suspicion, insecurity and tension in the air. His old friend and business partner Habibullah voices concern, but Baumgartner cannot understand his anxiety. Neither a Hindu nor a Muslim, he has no clear conception of India's latest problem, although at personal level he has encountered more or less an identical crisis. Ironically, one man's problem is not another man's problem, because man seems to have lost his cosmic vision. Both Habibullah and Hugo are so wrapped up in their own worries that "Habibullah had no more conception of Baumgartner's war, of Europe's war than Baumgartner had of affairs in Bengal, in India" (p. 169). However, on Habibullah's suggestion, he decides to leave for Bombay, a safer place.

Fortune favours him in Bombay. With Chimanlal's help his business flourishes once again; but Hugo has lost all zest for life, he is empty within, though apparently he seems involved in daily transactions, races and clubs. The only link with Germany, his mother, is snapped. He half forgets his mother-tongue but, ironically, cannot pick-up any of the Indian tongues. He is alone, isolated amid the sea of humanity. There is only Lotte to share his loneliness with him, and a brood of weak, maimed, homeless cats he befriends. Careless with his appearance, unwashed and unclean, he picks up the ways of the eccentrics. He is, in fact, no better than the homeless family living on the pavement near Hira Niwas, only that he keeps the semblance of being a respectable customer at Café-de-Paris. Hobbling home with a plastic bag full of left-overs for his cats, he earns a name "billiwallah Pagal". Unconcerned he lives and equally unconcerned he dies, murdered in cold blood by his own countryman.

This novel, apart from covering the protagonist's whole life, spans a turbulent period in world history, and a very significant period in Indian history. But, it is not a record of those events that shook the world. The novelist's concern is neither the holocaust nor the war, nor India's partition and the allied problems. She deals specifically with the human situation, and human problems accentuated by the war. In a short interview given to *The New York Times* Anita Desai states that in this novel she "wasn't writing about the Nazis. I was writing about random evil".[2] The novel, thus, transcends the socio-political field and reaches the existential angst of man. The personal and historical problems inherent in the situation become existential problems. Like Lotte in the end, the work too gropes to find "a meaning to the meaninglessness." The protagonist has never been able to understand why there is a war within a war. Seemingly he accepts life as it comes but inwardly he is made hollow, "drained by all the madness," not only of the boy but of the whole world : the senseless violence, religious hatred, communal frenzy, drugs, greed, famine, poverty, hunger, personal losses and human degradations. But, amid all this, life goes on. It is a greater force, a bigger conception. T.S. Eliot's lines with which the book starts, are significantly eidetic.

Anita Desai is a master of prose. The language here is terse, exact and graphic. Those who have read her first poetic novel *Cry, the Peacock* and have traced the development of her style all through her works, can discern the change from her Keatsian sensibilities to stark realism. She is a minute observer of life. Nothing escapes her microscopic vision. She knows her India to the very core and she portrays it with accuracy. With a few strokes of her powerful pen, she re-creates it vividly—right from the simple village folks making cow-dung cakes to the dispossessed pavement dwellers, from the helpful older generation of Farrukh and Chimanlal to the angry post-war, post independence new generation. Anita Desai does not claim to have a first-hand knowledge of the Holocaust. She admits that she only read of it. But, that is not a minus-point in the novel because she paints not the Holocaust but its corroding effect on man and man's finer sensibilities. The work is mature and subtle, elegent in style and saddening in its reality.

REFERENCES

1. Anita Desai, *Baumgartner's Bombay* (London : Heinemann, 1988). Further references are from this edition.
2. Sarah Ferrell, "A Banquet of Languags," a telephone interview in *The New York Times Book Review,* April 9, 1989, p, 3.

POST-WAR GERMAN LYRIC AND NEW TRENDS IN THE EIGHTIES

Amrit Mehta

The term "German poetry" needs first of all to be comprehended in both linguistic as well as national perspectives. While the language of the lyric denotes a homogenous source of literary creativity, the different geographical entities, where German is spoken as the only language or one of the major languages give the literatures of these countries different nomenclatures, viz. German literature, Austrian literature and Swiss literature. The so-called German literature originating from the pre-war undivided Germany also got divided into two distinctly different streams, viz. the literature from the Federal Republic of Germany and the literature from the socialist German Democratic Republic, where the authors with the active backing of the socialist regime consciously tried to establish their own identity as being dinstinct from their counterparts in the "bourgeois" West.

The post-war German poetry is in fact not different from the "world language of modern poetry", which evolved shortly after the fall of the Third Reich, thus giving scope to the creative mind to brood over the devastating results and the necessity of wars. The early writings had ironic criticism, simplicity of language, new use of language, inclusion of the absurd, use of phonetics and dialetics as essential elements of the poetry; and through them the generally binding concepts, presupposing an established world order, were negated. Absurdism was a new concept to gain respectability in the fifties, which was inspired by the Dadaism and Futurism of the twenties. It entailed experiments with constellation of words and montages. Serial poetry and concrete poetry were to follow. Still a favourite form of modern poets is cencrete poetry, where individual words are isolated to make the concrete in words visible.

The history of post-war West German literature can be summed up in a few words like this : immediately after the end of the war the authors dedicated their lyric to the situation on the border with a reduced stylistics. The sixties saw the lyric more concerned with the socio-political realities of the time. The poets right of reproducing facts through poetry was recognized and the documentary method was supplemented through social awareness. The tradition of workers' poetry was also revived. The seventies did not reflect the disillusionment of the past, although high hopes of fundamental changes in the society had been largely belied. The new lyric served the purpose of describing new experiences of the world, new perspectives were added, the problems of women being one of them. Then there were authors in the seventies, who had been politically active during the Nazi-period and could now express themselves spontaneously and sensibly. These people represented the trend-change in a very conspicous manner. The "new sensibility" of the seventies stood in stark contrast to the abstractness of the revolutionary objectivism of the generation of 1968—student revolution and it's unrealistic 'concept fetishism' which was heavily egocentric. The new "truth of feeling" displaced the theoretical argumentation. This narcissism, as it was called by the detractors of the new trend, developed a fine understanding of the "coldness" and "warmth" in the situations of life : an expression of subtle sensory perception, one's joys and pains, a rehabilitation of sensuality. If the Vietnam-war of sixties had shattered the confidence of the western world and had promoted the anti-capitalistic, "anti-imperialistic" socialism in West Germany, the seventies witnessed the emergence of a radical pacifism in the shadow of a threatening global apocalypse. The literature of the seventies and the eighties had to face the onslaught of audio-visual media as never before. The literary aesthetics were often compromised to suit the language of the media and many barriers were broken due to this phenomenon. Some authors argued in favour of multi-medial poetics (e.g. Rolf Dieter Brinkmann), others wrote for them, but the distrust of most of the authors towards the audio-visual media still remains, because it has taken away from literature a large chunk of the reading public. The leftist authors have vehemently been critical of this since the sixties, because in their opinion the audio-visual media is instrumental in prepetuating the myth of the social order, which they have all along been condemning.

The success of West German poets like Günter Eich and Günter Grass in other countries is not due to modernistic experiments or avant garde thinking, but due to treatment of certain specific German themes in progressively inspired, but traditional form. The significance of the year 1945 for the German literature is unmistakable, as it was decisive for an upheaval in the German politics and culture—inspite of the continuity of tradition and authors, who had also been writing in the pre-1945 period. The German mentality has not only been a political myth, which wished to become real, but also a cultural reality, which extended from the heights of metaphysics, romantic rebellion and idealism to the day-to-day life of the self, and it's susceptibility to terror and philistinism had even been recognized by none else than Nietzsche. The second world war was a culmination of this negative tendency, hence the year 1945 can be assumed as zero-point for another German poetry including that emanating from West Germany. In 1947 the authors in the West established a "Group of 47", the founder members being Hans Werner Richter, Alfred Andersch, Wolf Dietrich Schnurre inter alia. It was a group of democratic movement, the motto of the authors being to look towards the future : though the future seemed to be bleak, something had to be done to remove the despondency, distress and grief. It was a conscious, collective intellectual endeavour to advance into a new era of light, leaving behind the dark days of National Socialism. It also opened the new possibilities of new literature. This gave in fact the sublime continuity a chance to assert itself. The authors, who gave the all important organizational impulses in the post-war literature, viz. H.W. Richter and Alfred Andersch, had been writing and were politically awake since 1933. The celebrated post-war poets like Wolfgang Weyrauch and Günter Eich had been writing much before 1945 without offering any significant political resistance. It shows, how consciously and programmatically the West German lyric has developed along with the literature, especially with the filter of the "Group of 47", representing a specific politico-historical situation.

In the German Democratic Republic the zero-point theory has been resisted and through the literature produced there the politics and culture of the communist state has been shown to be the continuation of the socialist tradition of Germany. The continuation was also officially acknowledged through the return of leftist emigrant poets like Bertolt Brecht and Johannes R. Becher. With their return they hoped to revive the great tradition of literature, theatre and music, which existed in the united Germany before 1933 and contribute in raising a phoenix out of the cultural ruins. This hope became the official cultural policy of the new-found state. Uptill mid-50s it was heavily oriented towards recognizing socialism as a true German tradition, but after the declaration of socialist cultural revolution in 1958 as part of GDR's policy of cultural development on the national level, things became different. The definition of cultural revolution was not based purely on the theory of class struggle, i.e. on the concept of natural replacement of capitalistic bourgeois through the working class. Some decisive arguments based on the German history, which were based on a concept promoted by Ferdinand Laselle during the workers' movement in the 19th century were advanced. It was the polemical resumé of the unsuccessful revolution of 1948 : if the bourgeois has failed to realize its great ideals, then the working class takes over the struggle to realize it. In West Germany there was no chance for it, as it had distanced itself from the progressive traditions of the nation. Their legitimate heir-executor could only be the socialist German state. The efforts of the cultural revolution were propogated by the East German party chief Walter Ulbricht as the beginning of a new classic; Ulbricht himself as a lover of classical literature in his youth. Johannes R. Becher, who was engaged in the study of classical literature in 1934 during his exile in Moscow and who later became the Cultural Minister of East Germany, wrote anti-fascist and pro-Stalin verses in the style of classic and exhorted the young poets to use the classical form in their socialist poetry. This tendency continued in the East German lyric till the end of fifties. About the form of poetry Bertolt Brecht also set an example to young poets through bringing renaissance in heroic blanc verse. In the sixties, important dramatists of GDR like Peter Hacks, Hartmut Lange, Heiner Müller, Helmut Baierl wrote blanc verse. The poetry of sixties contributed handsomely to self-interpretation of the GDR through literature. The lyric of this period was also accepted in West Germany as truly representative of the "other Germany". But while the literary scene in the West shed its provincialism and accepted new aesthetic streams and international perspectives, the literature in the East fell into a self-made communal trap. With the building of Berlin Wall, not only the doors to the West, but also to the past, which was so precious to the cultural policy of the communist regime, were closed. It was the beginning of the time of the so-called "advent" literature, which described the successful integration of young people with the sphere of production. The state and the party promoted a new communal theme, which found an echo from the population due to impressive economic gains during the period of new economic system. The end of sixties experienced a lyric, which attached significance to the identification of people with work-efficiency along with the exhortation to work for the demolition of class-consciousness and active engagement for socialistic democracy. For the development of literature in the sixties there was nothing, which would suggest the erstwhile official line of continuity of socialist literature. Although the post-war generation has inherited from their elders the literary techniques and ideological scepticism, still it lacked in specific truth of its life, i.e. their National Socialistic past. They were left to find this reality for themselves, which was not an easy thing to do, since the state boasted of having won their fight against fascism. An important dimension of history was missing for them and the official policy under the party chief Ulbricht did nothing to alter the scenario, which meant ignoring 1945 as the zero-point. But the concept changed drastically with the departure of Ulbricht in 1971 and the poetry written and in the seventies is more open and critical of the authors' immediate environment. The restricted exchange of GDR-authors with the authors in the West did create a new situation, whereby some of the authors from the East decided to settle in the western part of Germany. The Wolf Biermann affair of 1976 created quite a rumpus in the literary circles of both the countries. The use of the word "exile" by such poets points towards a tendency towards an isolated thought process, which has nothing to do with the consternation of anti-fascist exiles during the Nazi-era in Germany.

The theory of two separate German literatures is derived mainly from their political and historical functioning. Their relevance is significant after a literary vacuum of Hitler-era. The phase of reviving art and aesthetics in two socio-politically different states has now become a part of contemporary history.

The same language and the close political and cultural ties with Germany have led many to the temptation to regard Austrian literature merely as a branch of German literature. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Stefan Zweig, Robert Musil and Rainer Maria Rilke are still recognized and valued as representatives of Austrian, as opposed to German, literature. It is more difficult for those who were born later. They have to struggle for double recognition : as authors and Austrians. Rainer Maria Rilke, the uncrowned king of poetry of his age, has been called the "Austrian who has achieved the highest form of sublimation" in his work, which revolves around the experience of death; elements of the baroque tradition can be found just as well in the visions of decline and death of the "expressionist" Georg Trakl. The contrast with the contemporary German poets is obvious. At one time Hofmannsthal made an attempt to compare and describe the contrasting characteristics of the Austrian and German peoples, which are also reflected in the literatures of the two peoples. In his "Prussian and Austrian" (1917) he sets down the following pairs of contrast, which to some extent could be true even today :

The Austrian character	*The German character*
— more humanity	— more efficiency
— unlimited individualism	— unlimited authoritarianism
— traditional outlook	— topical outlook
— acts according to propriety	— act according to rules

— irony about the self	— self confidence
— apparently immature	— apparently masculine
— takes life easily	— systematizes life
— bashful, vain, witty	— self-righteous, presumptuous, pedantic
— pleasure-seeking	— place-hunting
— predominance of private sphere	— predominance of business
— irony to the point of self-negation	— open self-exaggeration

Otto Basil calls Austrian language "Austrican", using this Latinism to emphasize its difference from "German", which exists to some extent today as well and can be illustrated by authors like Gütersloh, Doderer, Saiko, Lernet-Holenia and Artmann. "We can still hear the Latinate-Romance heritage resounding in it, the golden bells of Rome, and we can sense the Celtic gleam in its veins", writes Otto Basil in essay "Panorama of the decline of Kakania". He continues : "This language, created from Bavarian and Alemannic dialects, with ingredients taken from Czech and Prague-German, from Magyar, Croat, Yiddish, even Turkish, with remnants of French military colloquialisms that Napoleon's armies left behind, and with reminders of the idioms of Romanised Celts and Southern Slavs, is a resounding mosaic that only at the correct range (and historical distance supplies us with it) melts into a homogenous sound-construction." In this day, this "Austrican" language is more than ever threatened by a levelling—mainly for material reasons: by the mass media which are more or less dominated by the German neighbours and the magazine jargon common to them all. A standardized vocabulary, fulfilling only primary signalling functions, and for the greater part formed on foreign patterns, threatens to blanket the "resounding mosaic" of the "Austrican".

So much for the concern about the purity of the "Austrican", which presently is no longer felt, as the standardized German of the northern neighbour is looked upon as a model for correct German, but the contrast in conceptual content remains. In the later half of sixties the Austrian literature asserted once more its separate identity. Peter Handke became famous with his politically oriented and descriptive poetry, which was stimulating and provocative to say the least. While Viennese poets were already known for their concrete poetry, Graz made a name for itself in the seventies for the experiments with the language of poetry. The reality of the then extinct National Socialism, which the old authors chose to ignore in the post-war period, was taken up again in the solipsism of Peter Handke. Franz Immerhofer, Gernot Wolfgruber, Barbara Frischmuth, Michael Schrang used solipsism to narrate their private experiences, describing the compulsions and brutalities of everyday life in the society they were living in. Since the seventies the literary scene in Austria has become quite interesting, particularly so with the institution of Ingeborg-Bachmann award for literature, being awarded to the best Austrian literary work for the year, since 1977 in Klagenfurt.

The German-speaking authors of Switzerland had quite a different situation after the war, since they did not have to fight against or support Fascism and for them there was no crisis of conscious. Still it was difficult for them to define the identity of their literature in their society at that time. The formulation of Swiss continuity is based mainly on politics and culture, which basically derive their strength from Switzerland's neighbours, viz. Germany, France and Italy. It could have been the continuation of the feeling of the "reduit", which made Switzerland a bulwark of peace, when Europe was burning, but thanks mainly to Max Frisch and Friedrich Dürrenmatt, the Swiss had some authors of standing to build up the continuity. However, Frisch's most loved theme has been to detatch himself from the assigned roles, from the stereotypes; it could be the role of a Swiss or an intellectual, a story-writer or a lover. On the one hand the Swiss German authors identify themselves with the German speaking word, on the other hand they do not shy away sometime using the Swiss dialects in their work. The cultural affinity is important for them, but politically they would like to stay away from the political influence of big brothers. Adolf Muschg in his address to the German Academy of Language and Poetry said in 1980 : "We do not have a Swiss national literature, but when the neighbours want to think of us as a part of them, then we are tempted to defend our province with the argument that we consider it binding upon ourselves, as far as literature is concerned—because we need its binding power, because we have to put this power to the test politically against these very neighbours. Fundamentally, it is, as with Heinrich Lee (in Gottfried Kellers "Der Grüne Heinrich"), the Swiss author within the Swiss citizen, who refuses that association politically, on which he is culturally dependent." It was an expression of pride and confidence and also a sign of resurgence of Swiss German literature, which one had witnessed around 1970 as in Austria. Erika Burkart's collection of poems "Moräne" (1970) was certainly a breakaway step from those, who had been criticising the concept of a separate Swiss literature in the last two decades.

But ultimately one is confronted with the question : "Are there four German literatures or is there only one German literature ?", as we are approaching the end of the twentieth century with only a decade separating it from the present. This question can be answered only in a historical context, i.e. of the heritage of National Socialism. The finding of respective social identities during that period provided an impetus for literature, which was new and relevant to different social groups. The separate identity of West and East German, or Austrian and Swiss German literature is rather an affirmation of traditional literature of a particular region, which is discernible from the fact that the German emigrant authors emphatically distanced their literature from the literature of the Third Reich. These limitations can be extended more. The more they are extended, the more their historicity comes to the fore. The misuse of the term "German culture and literature" by the National Socialists may have alienated the emigrant German authors or authors of other countries, who write in their mother tongue German, the definition of one German literature still finds many sympathisers in the German-speaking world.

The tendencies in the German lyric of sixties and seventies are represented by two lyricists, Paul Celan and Rolf Dieter Brinkmann, who are representatives of two diametrically opposite schools of creativity. The setting with this becomes clear, in which two individual varieties of hermetic poets dominate the scene, viz. Erich Arendt on one side and the poets of new sensibility like Jürgen Theobaldy, Nicholas Born, Peter Handke or Jürgen Becker on the other side. Another group of poets encompasses names like Günter Eich, Peter Huchel, Günter Kunert or Hans Magnus Enzensberger, whose lyric is considered to be laconic. It does not, however, mean that their creativity is limited to the labels attached to them. The dividing line between one and the other is quite fluid, e.g. Celan's and Brinkmann's work has traits of epic poetry, but in their hermetic lyric they have also experimented with concrete poetry. Karl Krolow is another important poet belonging to this period, who has assimilated diverse styles of lyric-writing in his poetic career.

The work of Paul Celan is a paradox. He tries to cope up with something, which he cannot get under control as art—and he knows this. Haunted by the trauma of Auschiwtz, he tries to comprehend the concentration camp's situation through his lyric, which either becomes culture or the self-destruction of the poetry, acquired through the consciousness of inadequacy of the medium, which remains poetry, but which is doomed to be irrelevant. The virtual carry-over of inexplicit into the seemingly manageable cultural image is accomplished through his most famous poem "Death Fugue" ("Todesfuge"), the late surrealistic and neoromantic form of which is a triumph of culture over those, who are trying to escape from it :

> Black milk of daybreak we drink it at sundown
> we drink it at noon in the morning we drink it at night
> we drink and we drink it
> we dig a grave in the breezes there one lies unconfined
> A man lives in the house he plays with the serpents he writes
> he writes when dusk falls to Germany your golden hair Margarete
> he writes it and steps out of doors and the stars are flashing he whistles his pack out
> he whistles his Jews out in earth has them dig for a grave
> he commands us strike up for the dance
>
> Black milk of daybreak we drink you at night
> we drink in the morning at noon we drink you at sundown
> we drink and we drink you
> A man lives in the house he plays with the serpent he writes
> he writes when dusk falls to Germany your golden hair Margarete
> your ashen hair Shulamith we dig a grave in the breezes there one lies unconfined
> He calls out jab deeper into the earth you lot you others sing now and play
> he grabs at the iron in his belt he waves it his eyes are blue
> jab deeper you lot with your spades you others play on for the dance
>
> Black milk of daybreak we drink you at night
> we drink you at noon in the morning we drink you at sundown
> we drink and we drink you
> a man lives in the house your golden hair Margarete
>
> your ashen hair Shulamith he plays with the serpents
> He calls out more sweetly play death is a master from Germany
> he calls out more darkly now stroke your strings then as smoke you will rise into air
> then a grave you will have in the clouds there one lies unconfined
>
> Black milk of daybreak we drink you at night
> we drink you at noon death is a master from Germany
> we drink you at sundown and in the morning we drink and we drink you

death is a master from Germany his eyes are blue
he strikes you with leaden bullets his aim is true
a man lives in your house your golden hair Margarete
he sets his pack on to us he grants us a grave in the air
he plays with the serpents and daydreams death is a master from Germany
your golden hair Margarete
your ashen hair Shulamith

The development of Celan's lyric has a certain consistency, which makes him a counter-symbol of another type. Jürgen Theobaldy and his friends are representative of this type, whose lyric is on another level of hermetic poetry. While Celan's lyric is characterised by the stress on form with the simultaneous attempt to obliterate, rather denounce the content as extra-aesthetic, the opposite type can be described as content-oriented lyric. This contrast can smack of "art for art's sake", not taking into account the fact that formal traits can also be interpreted contentwise. Theobaldy endeavours towards a lyrical speech, which sounds natural and does not distance itself from colloquial language, and which has been greatly influenced by American authors. The object of Theobaldy's lyric becomes transparent as a construction, the realistic character of the lyric becomes transparent as an arrangement of realistic details, which should support an interpretation. A good example of this is Theobaldy's "Ballad". His position against the academism establishes an art, but an art separated from life is the speciality of Rolf Dieter Brinkmann. He radicalizes the repulsion of experiences turned into history into the repulsion of artistic in art. His doubt on the power of expression of words corresponds to a respect for images, which is not the irreal plastic speech, but the trivial images of mass media. What a conservative culture critic would dismiss as incessant flood of stimuli has been evaluated positively by Brinkmann, who said : "The book in the form of screenplay is the film in words." His contempt for word as opposed to image is expressed in the following poem :

The firm breasts of
Seventeen years old girls
Clad in pullovers are
More beautiful in rain
As they bounce
Hidden under the light nylone coats
When the girls jump from
Puddles to footpath.
Who would think of blue metaphors
When there are so many possibilities

Of expression
For one and the same thing.

In one of his poems "Westwards" ("Westwärts") Brinkmann not only uses Gottfried Benn's montage-technique, but in a rapid succession of sequences from the experience, he finds in the long poem a balance between art and life, in which he employs the technique of cut-up in an artistic manner to express the heterogeneity of reality.

The exile poetry of Bertolt Brecht, the laconic speech has determined the post-war lyrical scene, i.e. from 1945 till today. It has been emulated not only by the successors of Brecht, but also by poets, who were influenced by the "nature's magic" school of Oskar Loerke and Wilhelm Lehmann. They turned such type of poetry into political lyric, Günter Eich and Peter Huchel being most prominent among them. The laconism could in its political form be well understood, because it was motivated by the disillusionment from National Socialism and the second world war. It was an attempt to confront the pompous lyric of National Socialism, which amounted to poetical lies, with an unpoetical "concrete" language. Since every attempt of using an opulence of language seemed to be a distraction from reality, the demolition of this opulence in contrast, the voluntary impoverishment of the language of poetry was seen as a possibility to draw near to the reality. Such a poem by Günter Eich is "Inventory" ("Inventur"), a factual enumeration of less miserable objects still left. In ths poem Eich has attacked the concept of "Nature's magic", with which he began his poetic career, by use of scepticism in the language. Peter Huchel's lyric, on the other hand, while trying to distance his poetry from "nature's magic", is still nearer to it than Eich. The magic of nature is preserved in his poems, but its presence serves the purpose of rememberance to history. Huchel's landscapes are symbols of criticism, which could be for example "Sarmatien", the name of an old Roman province, given to the region between Baltic Sea and Volga. This lyric sees in the damage to nature the traces of violence, which form a continuity from the archaic pre-historic times to the second world war and the crimes of National Socialism. In a poem published in one of his recent books "The Ninth Hour" (1979) Huchel employs the figure of King Lear, deprived of power and living in misery. Through his eclipsed figure the poet has mirrored his own situation in the dark history.

The authors emulating the lyric of Brecht consider the history as indissoluble. Günter Kunert, for example, considered the lyric from the very beginning a medium for political enlightenment and like Brecht he wrote with a conscience, responsible to the society, for which his faith in Marxism had much to contribute. In his poem "The sun shines from the windows" he describes the details of everyday life, where something quite normal in the careless private life of people is used to warn of the dangers inherent in our times, while using the background of post-war and reconstruction period the poem forces the reader to think of the future :

> From the new house the women see
> the playing children.
> An aeroplane flies in the sky
> a shadow stretches over the faces.
> They remember.

Hans Magnus Enzensberger has also tried to use linguistic artistry as a vehicle for writing political lyric like Brecht. Theoretically he has more exactly reflected the contradictory relationship between artistry and its application for political enlightenment, which means the lyric can be political only in its own aesthetic medium and its language and not in its manifest engagement and its themes, which it pretends to represent. Enzensberger on the one hand applies the technique of Clemens von Brentano by planting pre-fabricated language structures, idioms, proverbs, citations in the poems, on the other hand he follows Brechts Verfremdung and Gottfried Benn's montage of hetrogene-technical terms, jargon, newspaper language and poetic vocabulary.

Peter Handke, whose stamp on the post-war German poetry has been substantial and who in the sixties and seventies became almost a cult figure for young readers of poetry, stylised himself consciously as a representative of a new generation in the sixties, when he was still in his twenties. He belonged to a generation, which took its actions as a long overdue demontage process. Handke made public his literary demontage as an expression of another, youthful form of life, not as a result of intellectual pleasure of contradiction. He not only demolished the linguistic rituals, but made the demolition process itself an effective ritual. He spoke of "narrative impotence" and was of the opinion that "the literature is made with the language and not with the things, which are described through language". He formulated the "restoration of alienation" in language so attractively that a great number of readers could make themselves at home with his lyric. They could identify with the feeling of hurt, which drives the "self" into a narcisstic isolation and inability to communicate.

Rolf Biermann is another important post-war lyricist, the murder of whose father by the Nazis in the concentration camp of Auschwitz made him in his early writings a staunch Communist. He settled voluntarily in the East Germany in 1953, because of his socialistic convictions, but after 23 years, i.e. in 1976 he again started living in the Federal Republic of Germany, since the communist regime in the GDR did not come upto his ideological convictions, where his literary works were banned for 10 years. Basically the political lyricist that he is, he was more critical of the Marxism as being practised by the party bureaucracy in the East Germany than of the ideology itself. The following poem published in 1972 is much representative of his style and his disillusionment with the red regime of his chosen country :

No corn is left to reap
The death loses its job
It must also die

This is the black death
This is the white death
This is the red death
Oh dear oh dear !

The contemporary giant of German literature Günter Grass, who has made headlines in Germany for his admiration for India and in India for representing this country in an unsavoury manner, has contributed immensely in giving a new turn to neo-realism in the German poetry in the sixties. His poems reprsent a reality, which seems to be dismembered, a world, which has gone to pieces. The central theme of his lyric is social reality, the function of which is to create an atmosphere, which panders to illusion, as opposed to authenticity. Grass has named the present decade as a great period for lyric. He perceives in the profusion and diversity of lyric—also as a narrative writer—an attitude of bidding farewell on the part of the lyricists, saying good-bye to a world, in the future of which they have lost all hope.

If we verify this statement as a hypothesis, it could be due to various motives and reasons, which range from the destruction of the living world through the technical civilization, rising threat of a world war, though the bold initiative of Mikhail Gorbachev for a war-free world has for the time being stemmed the tide, to the break-up of social relationships. Due to such threatening perspectives the relationship of the lyrical subject to the world which was based on emotion and phantasy and which since the beginning of the modern literature at the turn of the century had become a part of the poetry, came to be in danger of dissolution. Bidding farewell to the world became negative in that it became saying good-bye to the subject, which does not have any meaning for the self. A poem of Volker von Torne from the year 1976 titled "Pogrom" expresses this disillusionment with the world and the self :

> I will go without saying good-bye,
> Without a word, with torn shoes,
> The hat in hand, defenceless blood,
> Ash in the wind,
> Like my brothers :
> Forgotten.

In this poem bidding farewell expresses its meaning consciously and effectively. The tone in realising the particular attitude lyrically is appealing. It demolishes the wordlessness, which is pronounced.

A poet does not only reproduce his experiences through his lyric, but also experiences something through it. In the exchange of such experience there are two sides, one of the subject and the other of the object. The language acts as a bridge between the two. These experiences can be termed as attitudes, which are realized through various tones and pitches. Such tones can throw up complex structures : fundamental tones with a lot of undertones and overtones, which are not always related to the fundamental tones, as is the case with physical acoustics. The freedom of the poet consists mainly in intonating fundamental tones and to vary them through overtones and undertones, in order to unfold contradictions and to complete the process of experience. But then the tones are not to be confused with themes. A classification of the modern lyric, oriented to thematic schemes like classical themes of nature, society, love, death or politics would create an awful confusion, not only because today many lyricists do not want to have anything to do with thematic fixations, but also because this way the peculiar character of the poem cannot be determined. In having an overview of the tones, it can be said with certainity that soft tones are preferred in the modern German poetry, but sometimes one also confronts aggressive or very shrill tones, but on the other hand the tones showing naivity or unadulterated display of feeling are totally excluded. In short, the tones in the modern German lyric can be classified into four, viz. the sensitive, the reflexive, the imaginative and the aggressive tones.

Sensitivity as the fundamental tone is used more by female authors, but they are not the only ones writing sensitive lyric. There are two extremes, self-pity and aggressive self-assertion, between them here is sadness and fear, elegiac and pathetic, but sometimes reflection nd intellectual wit can also be found in such poems. Generally there is n effort on the part of the author to find his identity, particularly in he case of female authors, who want to probe into their role in ifferent spheres of social life. Female authors like Nelly Sachs, ngeborg Bachmann or Marie Luise Kashnitz immediately come to ind in this context; then there are GDR—lyricists like Sarah Kirsch nd Ulla Hahn, who complete the picture of female dominance in this ranch of lyrical tone. Sarah Kirsch's collection of poems "Erdreich" 982) also has narrative and reflexive elements in relation to her xperiences on journeys, particularly those through the USA. In her ther collection "Cat life" ("Katzenleben", 1984) the social identity of he individual dissolves itself into the nature. In Ulla Hahns collections f poems "Heart over Head" ("Herz über Koff", 1981) and "Spielende" 983) the sensitive fundamental tone can be perceived through the elationship of lyrical "I" with the self, with her feelings, especially ith the love. Her poem "Too heavy" ("zu schwer") from "Spielende" s an example :

Stay with me as if you were
there for me since long
let your white grow
in my hair

Love me as if it were
good for you
as if we give back
life in life

Carry me as if I were
not too heavy
Protect me as if
I were lost.

Authors like Sarah Kirsch and Ulla Hahn made use of sensitive tone in their poems consciously. If the sensitive poems are not reflexive in the sence that they do not aim at sharing, but only at presenting the brokenness in life, at one's being one with oneself, then they are different from the poems with a dominant reflective tone, which is articulated more directly than such poems. One does not reflect on the great things of the world in reflective poems, but on the incidental things, which are subjectively relevant, on individual concepts like speaking or silence. Hans Magnus Enzebsberger and Erich Fried are two great representatives of reflective tone in the contemporary German lyric. Fried writes his poetry like a moralist, who does not like resignation. His reflexions are ruled by the identity of "wishing" and "should be doing". Fried's reflections and self-reflections have a subtle, but at the same time a forceful dialactic impetus, as opposed to Enzensbergers' saracasm. In Fried's collection of poems "It is what it is" ('Es ist was es ist', 1983) he has not made any difference between the poems of self-reflexion, love and politics. Poems on contemporary political scene are there, but so are the poems, which reflect on problems of ideological orientation, historical perspective and the survival chances of genre. Fried has not fought shy of developing contradictions. The reflective tone is nearer to direct information, although this information is also more programmatic than situational. A pre-80s reflective poem of Erich Fried is reproduced below in its English translation :

A FAIR DEAL

For every civilian they kill
provided he did not fight them
the Americans pay
£ 14 compensation and for every
child they have killed they pay £ 7
furthermore for every house destroyed
£ 10 in cash
ten bags of cement and ten sheets
of corrugated iron

That's why we should
start raising a fund today
in case some day in Washington
a President
is shot
or hanged
so that one can
give his family £ 14 for him
and thus dispose of the matter

And in case any members of his family
also lose their lives
it would be as well
to have some petty cash handy for this too
and in case the White House
blows up in the process
an extra £ 10
ten bags of cement and ten sheets
of corrugated iron

The poem was written after The Guardian, London, in December 1969, reported US spokesmen in Saigon as saying that native figures of women and children killed in My Lai were exaggerated in order to obtain higher compensation payments. After the Tet Offensive, the US Embassy in Saigon had announced rates of compensation for non-combatants killed. The outlining of new, never-seen images in the language is a form of lyrical speech, which is different from perception sensitivity to the extent that it is based on the subjective power of imagery, which offers resistance to the superior strength of reality. Diana Kempff's collection of poems "Heart time" ("Herzzeit", 1983) is not a metaphor of neo-romantic spiritualization, but a code of another period, which articulates itself graphically against history. As if to demonstrate that the graphics can hardly match the real world, the poems have been composed in miniature, their linguistic material has been reduced in an extreme manner. Imagination does not signify here an abundance of free-roving phantasy, nor surpassing the reality through opulent images, but retaining the graphic details, which are used economically as elements of construction. The imaginative tone in poetry is always dominated by visuals, but frequently in such a manner that the visuals seem to be separated from a large complex of images, and the correlation of these images with the visuals is left out.

The extreme opposite of imagination can be found in the poems, the fundamental tone of which is aggressivity. Such poems head straight for reality : not in the form of emotionless statements, nor in the imperturbality of reflective non-challange, but in a manner, where the subject engages passionately in conflict with the object. The arena of the conflict is the language of the poem. Christian Geissler's collections "Im Vorfeld einer Schuβverletzung" (1981) and "Spiel auf ungeheuer" (1983) represent the new aggressive tone in German poetry. In each line of every poem in these collections the emotional intensity of the conflict is discernible, which threatens to rob the poetic subject of its reason. If the word had more material strength, if the arena of language had been a real one, then there would be no doubt about the winner in this conflict. But since the arena of the language remains imaginery and it only represents the reality of the conflict, the conflict must begin from the start in each poem, till the subject exhausts itself. The rage is directed against the concrete form of imperialistic politics, against the West German regime, which maltreats prisoners of Red Army Faction, against the mass media, against the bourgeois mentality, against the old people's homes as social institutions, in short against a multitude of symptoms in socio-political sphere, which are in fact related to the attitude of the subject.

Geissler's poems are full of historical insinuations and literary citations, of press reports and official annoncements, which he throws back in a garbled manner on their originators. The author employs a full arsenal of linguistic weapons in his struggle, which range from Verfremdung and paradox to powerful images and rhythmic dynamics.

The days of naivity and naive sentimentality seem to be really over, as far as the modern German lyric is concerned. As elsewhere, the German poet has come out of his provincial shell and now the problems of the wide world concern him as much as his counterparts in the other parts of the world. The new concept of "world internal politics" coined by Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker is realizing itself in the "world literature" being created by the young German poets, for whom the trauma of National Socialism may not be a thing of the distant past, but who can look at it in a detatched manner and contribute through their lyric in creating a new world social order.

—Paul Celen's poem "Death Fugue" and Erich Fried's "A fair deal" have been translated into English respectively by Michael Hamburger and Georg Rapp. The rest of the poems have been translated by this author himself.

काश्मीर शैवागम में प्रतिभा-दर्शन एवम् भारतीय काव्य शास्त्र

आशुतोष आंगिरस

वस्तुतः संस्कृत काव्य-शास्त्र जब उदय होकर प्रौढ़ता को प्राप्त कर रहा था तो प्रत्यभिज्ञामत के शैवाचार्य अपनी शिव-दृष्टि के अनुकूल ही शब्दार्थसाहित्यवाद, अलंकारवाद, आनन्दवाद, अभिव्यक्तिवाद, ध्वनिवाद एवम् प्रतिभा-स्वातन्त्र्यवाद, जैसी साहित्यिक स्थापनाओं से उसे पुष्ट कर रहे थे । इस दृष्टि से महामहेश्वर अभिनवगुप्त एवम् भामह, रुद्रट, मम्मट, वामन आदि काश्मीरी आचार्य काव्य-प्रतिभा के विषय में अपने मौलिक विचार देने के कारण, प्रमुख रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं । रससूत्र के व्याख्याकार भट्टनायक और महिमभट्ट ध्वनि-सिद्धान्त के विरोधी होने के कारण, कुन्तक अपने वक्रोक्तिवाद के कारण, क्षेमेन्द्र अपने औचित्य-वाद के कारण, काश्मीरी होते हुए भी सम्पूर्ण भारतीय काव्य-शास्त्र को जो उपहार दे गए हैं वह विश्वसाहित्य में प्रतिभा का अद्भुत प्रकाशन है ।

भारतीय काव्यशास्त्र का आलोचन करने से ऐसा लगता है कि प्रतिभा की धारणा में समस्त शास्त्रों, दर्शनों, धर्मों, विज्ञानों, कलाओं एवम् व्यवहारों का किसी न किसी स्तर पर समन्वय अवश्य हुआ है । अतः मम्मट ने अपने काव्य- प्रयोजनों में ''यशसे अर्थकृते'' से लेकर ''सद्यःपरनिर्वृतये'' तक पहुंचते पहुंचते सभी दृष्टियों को समेट दिया है। काव्य-कारणों के वर्गीकरण में भी इन आचार्यों का समन्वयवादी दृष्टिकोण इसी प्रकार उभर कर आया है, जिससे प्रमुख काव्य-कारणों में से प्रतिभा सम्बन्धी काव्य-सिद्धान्त का उन्मेष काव्य-शास्त्र में खुल कर हुआ ।

वस्तुतः काश्मीर में जिन दिनों केसर और कविता के सौन्दर्य का वैभव एक साथ उमड़ रहा था, उन दिनों वहां की घाटियों की हवाओं में, झीलों के जल में, शैवों की प्रत्यभिज्ञा और त्रिपुरातंत्र की प्रतिभा एक साथ मिलकर भारतीय दर्शन और काव्य को एक नया रूप और नये आयाम दे रहे थे । प्रतिभा की बात, एक ओर तो विमर्शरूपिणी पराशक्ति के रूप में, शैव अध्यात्म-शास्त्र में हो रही थी और दूसरी ओर शास्त्रों में उसी प्रतिभा को मनोविज्ञान के स्तर पर व्याख्यात करने का प्रयत्न हो रहा था । अभिनवगुप्त, वामन की प्रतिभासम्बन्धी इस धारणा को कि ''प्रतिभा कोई जन्मान्तर का संस्कार-विशेष है,'' अपनी अभिनव भारती में यह कह कर समर्थन दे रहे थे कि वह संस्कार कोई ''अनादि प्राक्तन संस्कार है जो प्रतिभानमय चेतना है[1] । हो सकता है कि

प्रतिभा के विषय में यह सब कहते समय इन आचार्यों के सम्मुख प्रकारान्तर से आधुनिक मनोविज्ञान के अचेतन मानस की छिपी भूमिका का रूप भी कहीं एकदम स्पष्ट रहा हो किन्तु अचेतन मानस की तहों में भी कहीं गहरे चितिशक्ति (चेतनमन नहीं) का ही संचार देखकर आनन्दवर्धन ने एक कदम और आगे रख कर कहा हो कि महाकवियों की वाणी में अति मधुर अर्थ का निस्यन्द या सार अलोकसामान्य प्रतिभा के परिस्फुरण के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है [2] । लोक में भले ही वह पूर्ववासना के गुणों से अनुबद्ध होकर प्रकट होता है [3] । अतः यह निश्चित है कि इन आचार्यों ने प्रतिभा के पराभौतिक और मनोवैज्ञानिक दोनों रूपों का खुलकर साक्षात्कार किया था । प्रकाश से विमर्श के अवतरित होने का यह रहस्य काव्यशास्त्रियों को ज्ञात हो चुका था ।

विमर्श का अर्थ है—पूर्ण अकृत्रिम अहम् की स्फूर्ति । यह स्फूर्ति सृष्टिकाल में विश्वाकार, स्थितिकाल में विश्वप्रकाश तथा संहार काल में विश्वसंहरण रूप में विद्यमान रहती है [4] । प्रतिभा इसी स्फूर्ति की अपर संज्ञा है । शिव की यह पराशक्ति शिव में ही सतत विश्राम करती है और अपने रूप को प्रकटित करने की क्रिया के द्वारा विश्व का उन्मीलन करती है [5] । इस पराप्रतिभा का ही अंश कवि हृदय में रहता है जिसके कारण से वह विचित्र अपूर्व काव्य-सर्जना करने में समर्थ होता है[6], लेकिन इस प्रतिभा का बीज मानव-हृदय में किस प्रकार या किस कारण से उगता है, यह रहस्य है । दण्डी प्रतिभा को पूर्वजन्म की वासना के गुणों से सम्बद्ध बतलाते हैं [7] । और वामन भी जन्मान्तर संस्कार को ही प्रतिभा मानते हैं[8] । इसकी पुष्टि अभिनवगुप्त भी अभिनवभारती में करते हैं [9] । जगन्नाथ प्रतिभा के उदय के लिए दो अन्य कारण बताते हैं - प्रथम किसी देवता के प्रसाद या महात्मा के अनुग्रह से अदृष्ट का उदय तथा दूसरे अधिक अभ्यास से अकस्मात् कवित्व का उदय हो जाना[10] । हेमचन्द्र की व्याख्या भी लगभग कुछ इसी प्रकार की है । वे भी प्रतिभा के दो भेद मानते हैं- जन्मजात (सहजा) तथा कारणजन्य (औपाधिकी)[11] । आनन्दवर्धन व्युत्पत्ति तथा अभ्यास, दोनों साधनों से बढ़कर प्रतिभा की उपयोगिता को काव्य में स्वीकार करते हुए कहते हैं कि महाकवियों की वाणी मधुर अर्थ का निस्यन्द करती हुई आलोकसामान्य तथा परिस्फुरणशील प्रतिभाविशेष की अभिव्यक्ति करती है [12] ।

कवित्व के दो आधार-स्तम्भ हैं - दर्शन और वर्णन । भट्टतौत कहते हैं कि जो ऋषि नहीं वह कवि भी नहीं होता, और ऋषि कोई भी बिना दर्शन के नहीं हुआ करता। और दर्शन वह है जिसके द्वारा विचित्र भावों, धर्मों और तत्त्व का बोध होता है । तत्त्व का दर्शन करने वाला होने से ही शास्त्रों में उसे कवि कहा गया है । इस तत्त्वदर्शन का वर्णन करने के कारण ही लोक में कवि के कृतिकर्म को इस रूप में प्रसिद्धि मिली है । अभिप्राय यह कि जब किसी कवि का दर्शन वर्णन में नहीं उतरता तब तक प्रतिभा के उदय का पता नहीं चलता । आदिकवि वाल्मीकि का दर्शन भी वर्णन में आए बगैर अप्रकाशित ही

रह जाता । और वर्णन का सामंजस्य होने पर ही कविता की स्फूर्ति होती है [13] । दर्शन और वर्णन का हेतु क्या है, वह हेतु प्रतिभा है । क्योंकि भामह के अनुसार जड़ बुद्धिवाला पुरुष भी गुरु के उपदेश से शास्त्र को अच्छी तरह पढ़ सकता है परंतु काव्य की स्फूर्ति उसी व्यक्ति में होती है जो प्रतिभा से सम्पन्न होता है [14] । इस प्रकार दर्शन और वर्णन के कारण प्रतिभा के दो पक्ष दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं :–

1. दृष्टि-पक्ष
2. सृष्टि-पक्ष

इन दो पक्षों की व्याख्या से पहले के भारतीय काव्याचार्यों के सन्दर्भ में प्रतिभा के जिन काव्यसम्बन्धी पक्षों का उद्घाटन होता है उस पर दृष्टिपात करना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है । भट्टतौत काव्य के अर्थतत्त्व को ही काव्य का चरम प्रतिपाद्य मानकर नए-नए अर्थों का उन्मेष करने वाली प्रज्ञा को ही प्रतिभा मानते हैं [15] । परन्तु आचार्य कुन्तक प्रतिभा को एक विशिष्ट संस्काराशय का फल मान कर उसे पूर्वजन्म तथा इस जन्म के संस्कार के परिपाक से पुष्ट होने वाली कोई विलक्षण कवि-शक्ति ही कहते हैं [16] । रीति के प्रसिद्ध आचार्य वामन को 'प्रतिभान' या प्रतिभा, कवित्त्व का वह बीज लगता है जो पूर्व जन्म से आने वाला संस्कार है, जो वासनारूप से कवि के हृदय में ही रहता है [17] । भट्टगोपाल तो मानो वामन के स्वर को ही पुष्ट करते हुए कहते हैं कि प्रतिभा कवित्त्व का बीज अर्थात् उपादान रूप संस्कारविशेष ही है । जिस प्रकार वृक्ष को देखने से बीज की कल्पना की जाती है उसी प्रकार काव्यरूपी कार्य के द्वारा इस वासनाशक्ति की सत्ता का अनुमान किया जाता है [18] । किन्तु प्रतिभा का क्या कोई प्रकट रूप भी सहृदयों को प्रत्यक्ष होता है । इस पर पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ रमणीय अर्थ के प्रतिपादक शब्द-सर्जन पर बल देकर कहते हैं कि "जिनसे काव्य बन सके" ऐसे शब्दार्थों की उपस्थिति ही प्रतिभा है [19] । किन्तु यहां हमें पण्डितराज की प्रतिभा की ठोस पारिभाषिकता की अपेक्षा रुद्रट का यह मत अधिक सहज लगता है कि प्रतिभा से एकाग्रचित होने पर अर्थों का अनेक प्रकार से विस्फुरण होता है । तथा कमनीय पद स्वयम् कवि के सामने प्रतिभासित होते हैं । जिस पदार्थ के द्वारा यह अपूर्व घटना घटित होती है उसी का नाम शक्ति (प्रतिभा) है [20] । वस्तुतः नव्यन्याय की पारिभाषिकता से प्रभावित पण्डितराज की अपेक्षा हमें प्राचीन काव्यमीमांसक-गण यह कहते हुए अधिक संगत लगते हैं कि प्रतिभा वह वस्तु है जो काव्य के समग्र उपकरणों को शब्द-समूह, अर्थ-पुंज, अलंकार, उक्ति-प्रकार आदि को कवि के हृदय में प्रतिभासित करती है जिससे ये सब पदार्थ उसके मानस-नेत्र के सामने झटिती अभिव्यक्त हो जाते हैं[21] ।

राजशेखर ने प्रतिभा को दो भागों में विभक्त किया है :–

कारयित्री और भावयित्री । कवि को काव्यकर्म में सीधे उपकार करने वाली प्रतिभा

कारयित्री कही जाती है [22] ।

वह तीन प्रकार की है–

1. **सहजा**-पूर्व जन्म के संस्कारों से प्राप्त जन्मजात प्रतिभा [23] ।
2. **आहार्या**-शास्त्रों एवम् काव्यों के अभ्यास से उत्पन्न प्रतिभा [24] ।
3. **औपदेशिकी**-मन्त्र, तन्त्र, देवता, गुरु आदि के वरदान से प्राप्त प्रतिभा [25] ।

भावयित्री प्रतिभा भावक या सहृदय आलोचक का भावन-कर्म में उपकार करती है अतः उसका नाम भावयित्री है [26] ।

प्रतिभा का दृष्टि पक्षः–

काव्य में दो त्रिक सुस्पष्ट बनते हैं

1. कवि, कविता, प्रतिभा
2. सहृदय, भावना, प्रतिभा

प्रथम त्रिक में कवि के क्रान्तदर्शित्व का कारण प्रतिभा है । क्योंकि प्रतिभा के कारण ही कवि कविता का साक्षात्कार करता है । क्योंकि सामान्य जगत् की साधारण घटना को भी कवि अपनी प्रतिभा से काव्य रूप में उपस्थित करता है । जिससे विलक्षण रचना का उदय होता है । मन्त्रद्रष्टा ऋषियों से लेकर आधुनिक समकालीन कवियों तक एक ही सूत्र रहा है – पहले दर्शन फिर उस दर्शन का वर्णन [27] । इसलिए संभवतः श्रुति में कहा गया है ''कि उसने ईक्षण किया [28]'' । और ईक्षण के बाद उसने इच्छा की कि 'मैं एक से बहुत हो जाऊँ [29]'' । और वह ईक्षण की स्थिति में आ गया । अतः यह जगत् उस परमशिव कवि की कविता ही है जिसको उसने विमर्श रूपी प्रतिभा से ईक्षण कर उन्मीलित किया । ठीक इसी प्रकार का कार्य कवि का है ।

द्वितीय त्रिक में भी प्रतिभा ही आलोचक को सहृदय बना कर कथा या काव्य का अनुशीलन करने में समालोचन एवम् रसास्वादन में प्रेरित करती है । दृष्टिपक्ष के विषय में महिमभट्ट का यह कथन महत्वपूर्ण है कि पदार्थ के विशिष्ट रूप का ही कवि को प्रत्यक्ष होता है, और वही प्रत्यक्ष सत्कवि की प्रतिभा-जनित वाणी का भावक को प्रत्यक्ष कराता है । यह ठीक है कि पदार्थ के दो रूप होते हैं–सामान्य और विशिष्ट । सामान्य रूप तज्जातीय समस्त पदार्थों में रहने वाला रूप है । विशिष्ट रूप उसी विशिष्ट पदार्थ में अन्तर्निविष्ट होने वाला रूप है । साधारण जन पदार्थ के सामान्य रूप को ही ग्रहण करने में व्यस्त रहता है । उतने से ही उसके योगक्षम का निर्वाह होता है, उसका लोकव्यवहार उतने से ही सुचारु रूप से चलता है । व्यक्तिविवेककार का कहना है कि पदार्थ के इस विशिष्ट रूप का ही अवगमन कवि करता है और वह भी प्रतिभा के सहारे ही [30] । जब कवि सरस काव्य-चिन्तन में दत्तचित्त होकर समाहित होता है, रसानुकूल शब्द और

अर्थ की चिन्ता के हेतु उसका चित्त एकाग्र हो जाता है, तब उसकी प्रज्ञा क्षण भर के लिए पदार्थ के सच्चे स्वरूप का स्पर्श करती हुई जाग्रत होती है । वही चित् का जागरण प्रतिभा है । यह शिव का तृतीय नेत्र है । उसी के द्वारा कवि त्रैलोक्यवर्ती भावों को तीनों लोकों में होने वाली घटनाओं तथा वस्तुओं का-साक्षात्कार करता है [31] ।

प्रतिभा का सृष्टिपक्ष

इस अपार काव्यसंसार का निर्माता कवि है । उस कविरूप प्रजापति की इच्छा और रूचि के अनुसार ही इस काव्यसंसार की रचना होती है[32] । लेकिन प्रजापति भी अपने में ही स्थित उपादान कारणों से सृष्टि-क्रिया में समर्थ होता है जबकि कवि बिना कारण कला से ही अपूर्व वस्तु का निर्माण करता है [33] । इसलिए नियति के द्वारा निर्धारित नियमों से रहित केवल आनंदमात्र स्वभाववाली अन्य किसी के अधीन न रहने वाली तथा नौ रसों से मनोहारिणी काव्यसृष्टि की रचना करने वाली कवि की भारती ही सर्वोत्कर्ष शालिनी है,[34] जिसमें कवि-प्रतिभा का ही चरम उत्कर्ष रहता है [35] । कविता में जो कुछ भी चमत्कार होता है वह सब प्रतिभा के द्वारा ही उत्पन्न होता है [36] ।

प्रतिभा किस आधार पर निर्माण करती है। उत्तर है कि काव्य में जिन पदार्थों के स्वरूप का वर्णन कवि करता है वे असत् रूप नहीं होते । जगत् में केवल सत्तामात्र से स्फुरित होते हैं । कवि अपनी प्रतिभा के सहारे उनमें अनिर्वचनीय अतिशय उत्पन्न कर देता है । जिसके कारण काव्य में सहृदयहृदय-हारिणी रमणीयता का उदय हो जाता है[37] । अतः कवि कविता में पदार्थ स्वरूप का निर्माण नहीं करता, प्रत्युत प्रतिभाशक्ति के बल पर वह केवल अतिशय निर्माण कर देता है[38] । अतिशय-विधान ही प्रतिभा का केवल कार्य है[39] ।

इसलिए कहा है कि पदों के विन्यास भी वही होते हैं, अर्थ की विभूतियां वे ही हैं, तथापि ग्रन्थ की कुशलता से ही काव्य नवीन होता है । समग्र कुशलता है कवि की प्रतिभा-व्यापार की शक्ति, जिसके कारण परिचित तथा पूर्वज्ञात भी वस्तु नवीन तथा अपूर्व रूप में उद्भासित होती है [40] ।

उपर्युक्त अध्ययन से हमें स्पष्ट पता चलता है कि भारतीय काव्यशास्त्र के आचार्यों ने प्रतिभा के विषय में चिन्तन करते हुए वही पद्धति अपनाई है जिस पद्धति को हमारे दार्शनिकों ने अपनाया था । दार्शनिकों ने परमतत्त्व का अनुसन्धान करते हुए उसके दो पक्षों को स्थूलतः उद्घाटित किया है - ''मूर्तचैवामूर्तंच'' । जिससे यह ज्ञात हुआ कि तत्त्व की एक कारण अवस्था रहती है और दूसरी कार्यावस्था रहती है । कारणरूपता में वह परम हो जाता है और कार्य रूप में वह आविर्भाव-तिरोभाव आदि धर्मों को ओढ़कर क्रीड़ा करता है । ठीक इसी प्रकार काव्यशास्त्र में प्रतिभा के भी दो रूपों पर ही आचार्यों का ध्यान रहा है । कुछ आचार्य उसके कारण रूप पर अधिक बल दे रहे हैं, तो दूसरे

उसके कार्य रूप या व्यावहारिक पक्ष पर । कोई उसे प्राक्तन अपूर्ण संस्कार के रूप में जानना चाहते हैं तो कोई उसे ''शब्दार्थों'' की उपस्थिति के रूप में मूर्त हुआ देखना चाहते हैं । कारण-रूपा प्रतिभा शैवों के अनुसार प्रकाशात्मक परब्रह्म के साथ ही जुड़ी रहती है जब कि कार्य-रूपा प्रतिभा परब्रह्म के साथ लगी रह कर भी अपनी स्फुरत्ता के बल पर नई से नई रचना करती रहती है [41] । सम्पूर्ण रचनाएं एवम् कलाकृतियां उस कार्यरूपा प्रतिभा की ही अनन्त मूर्तियां हैं । शब्द और अर्थ का विमर्श शैवों और शाक्तों के अनुसार प्रकाश आनंद और चिन्मयता के ही अधीन है । ललितासहस्रनाम पर लिखित सौभाग्यभास्कर भाष्य में कहा गया है कि वाचक शब्दों का और वाच्य अर्थों का प्रकाश के बिना किस प्रकार विमर्श (प्रकटन) होगा । इसलिए स्फुरण के लिए विमर्श को प्रकाश की अपेक्षा है और प्रकाश को अपने ज्ञान के लिए विमर्श की आवश्यकता है [42] । काव्यशास्त्रियों ने प्रतिभा के जिस दृष्टिपक्ष और सृष्टिपक्ष का वर्णन किया है वह शैवों की शाक्तों की इसी प्रकाशविमर्शमयी कल्पना की ही अभिव्यक्ति है ।

भारतीय काव्यशास्त्र के छः प्रमुख सम्प्रदायों में से जिन दो सम्प्रदायों का सर्वाधिक महत्त्व है वे दोनों ही प्रकाश-विमर्श, चिन्मयता और आनन्द की भाषा को समझने वाले हैं । इन दोनों में से प्रतिभा का सीधा सम्बन्ध रस और ध्वनि सम्प्रदाय से हैं । रस-दृष्टि यदि प्रतिभा की जीवन-चेतना है तो ध्वनि-तत्त्व उस प्रतिभा की ध्वननशक्ति, अभिव्यक्ति या स्फुरत्ताशक्ति है । जब रस के आचार्य रस की व्याख्या प्रकाशानन्दचिन्मयः ''और'' ''लोकोत्तरचमत्कारप्राणः''[43] कह कर करते हैं तो उसकी कुंजी शैव-शाक्त परम्परा में खोजनी चाहिए न कि शुष्क तार्किक अद्वैत-वेदान्त में । इसी प्रकार जब शब्द-अर्थ अपने को, अथवा शब्द अपने अर्थ को गौण बना के प्रतीयमान अनुभूतियों की शृंखला को आगे से आगे बढ़ाते हुए तरंग से तरंग के आविर्भाव की निरन्तर स्थिति पैदा करने लगते हैं तो वे प्रतिभा के अनादि और अनंत नृत्य में बज रहे नूपुरों का ही प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं । अतः यह कहना समीचीन ही होगा कि वैदिक काल से लेकर शैव शाक्त-आगम परम्परा के विकास पर्यन्त हमारे सम्मुख जो कुछ भी रस और ध्वनि को लेकर चिन्तन हुआ है उसकी पृष्ठभूमि में सामरस्य सम्बन्ध से शक्ति विशिष्ट शिव का ही विमर्श रूप स्फुरण है [44] ।

सहायक-ग्रन्थ सूची

1. अभिनव भारती, अभिनव गुप्त, गायकवाड़ ओरियण्टल सीरिज़, बड़ौदा, 1925.
2. काव्यादर्श, दण्डी ओरियण्टल बुक सप्लाइंग एजन्सी, 1924.
3. काव्यानुशासन, हेमचन्द्र, गायकवाड़ ओरियण्टल सीरिज़, बड़ौदा, 1926.
4. काव्यप्रकाश, मम्मट, ज्ञानमण्डल लिमिटेड, वाराणसी, स० 2027

5. काव्यमीमांसा, राजेश्वर, बिहार राष्ट्र भाषा परिषद, पटना, 1965
6. काव्यालंकार, रुद्रट, निर्णय सागर प्रेस, बम्बई, 1928.
7. काव्यलंकारसूत्रवृत्ति, वामन, सम्पादक-जीवानन्द, कलकत्ता, 1922.
8. छान्दोग्यउपनिषद, गीता प्रेस, गोरखपुर, 2028.
9. ध्वन्यालोक, आनन्दबर्धन, ज्ञानमण्डल लिमिटेड, वाराणसी, स० 2019.
10. ध्वन्यालोक लोचन, अभिनवगुप्त, निर्णय सागर प्रैस, बम्बई, 1928.
11. पराप्रवेशिका, काश्मीर संस्कृत सीरिज़, काश्मीर, 1930.
12. भारतीय प्रतीक विद्या, जर्नादन मिश्र, बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्, पटना, स० 1959.
13. भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र, बलदेव उपाध्याय, प्रसाद परिषद्, काशी, स० 2001.
14. वक्रोक्ति-जीवित, कुन्तक, आत्माराम एण्ड सन्स, दिल्ली, 1955.
15. व्यक्तिविवेक, महिमभट्ट, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरिज़, बनारस, 1936.
16. रसगंगाधर, जगन्नाथ, चौखम्बा विद्याभवन, वाराणसी, 1970.
17. ललितासहस्रनाम, सम्पादक-पन्नालाल अभिमन्यु, मास्टर खेलाड़ी एंड सन्स, वाराणसी, 1974

टिप्पणिक्रम

1. अभिनव भारती (खण्ड) पृ० 346
2. ध्वन्यालोक 1-6
3. काव्यादर्श 1-904
4. पराप्रवेशिका, पृ० 2
5. ध्वन्यालोक-लोचन, पृ० 60
6. अभिनव भारती, प्रथम भाग, पृ० 4
7. काव्यादर्श, 1-904
8. काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्ति, 1-3-16, वामन ।
9. खण्ड, पृ० 346
10. रसगंगाधर, पृ० 29
11. काव्यानुशासन, पृ० 5-6
12. ध्वन्यालोक 1-6
13. काव्यानुशासन, पृ० 316

14. भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र, पृ० 301 पर
15. वही, पृ० 302 पर
16. वक्रोक्ति जीवित, पृ० 49
17. काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृति 1-3-16
18. वही, 1-3-16 पर टीका
19. रसगंगाधर, पृ० 27
20. काव्यालंकार 1-15 (रूद्रट)
21. काव्यमीमांसा पृ० 11-12
22. वही, पृ० 30
23. वही
24. वही
25. वही
26. वही, पृ० 32
27. काव्यानुशासन, पृ० 379
28. "तदैक्षत" छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् 6-10-3, पृ० 595
29. वही
30. व्यक्तिविवेक
31. वही, पृ०
32. ध्वन्यालोक, पृ० 312
33. ध्वन्यलोकलोचन, मंगल श्लोक
34. काव्यप्रकाश 1-1
35. वक्रोक्तिजीवित पृ० 13
36. वही पृ० 48
37. वही पृ० 140
38. भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र, पृ० 446
39. वक्रोक्तिजीवित पृ० 143
40. वही, पृ० 143

1. ललितासहस्रनाम, 163 पर सौभाग्यभास्कर टीका
2. भारतीय प्रतीक विद्या, पृ० 181
3. सहित्यदर्पण
4. ललितासहस्रनाम, 201 पर भास्करराय की टीका

SECTION-III

History & Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology

Devendra Handa	..	Relics of Art from Marhanwala.
A.D. Malik	..	Documents on George Thomas.
Lalman	..	Sculptural Remains from Burail (Chandigarh).
A.K. Sharma	..	Shaikh Mubarak of Nagor (1505-1593 A.D.).

RELICS OF ART FROM MARHANWALA

Devendra Handa

The hills and plains of Haryana have been the playground of man rom hoary antiquity. It was here that the Aryan civilization flourished. A part of the traditional land of the seven rivers *(Sapta-Sindhu)*, it has ttracted many a people and tribe to settle on its fertile *(bahudhānyaka)* tracts and its affluence has lured many an invader to aṭtack it. As such, t has borne the brunt of alien incursions. It has been the venue of many fierce battles and has seen the vicissitudes of fortunes of various peoples and dynasties.

Ever since the sages lit the holy fire of sacrifices on the banks of its rivers like the Sarasvatī, the Dṛishadvatī and the Āpayā, the entire region is regarded sacred and is studded with pilgrimage centres which have been attracting the devout since time immemorial. The development of centres of religious art in such a holy land was thus a natural consequence. Ravages of time and clime, occasional battles and some of the iconoclastic conquerors have, however, reduced many of those centres to mere mounds and consigned others to oblivion.

Not much was known about the cultural heritage of the state during the last decade.[1] Surprisingly enough the monumental work of C. Sivaramamurti on *The Art of India* published in 1977 did not refer, with the exception of a terracotta from Sugh, to any temple or art-object from Haryana even though the book contained nearly 1375 illustrations of monuments and sculptures from various parts of the country. Archaeological explorations and excavations and some chance discoveries, however, have brought to light quite a good number of centres and objects of art in the recent years. Most of these still remain unpublished. The publication of any hitherto unknown material is therefore quite important. It is from this viewpoint that we describe below the relics of art from Marhanwala.

Marhanwala is situated about 15 kms. north-west of Pinjaur on the Pinjaur-Nalagarh road on the northern bank of the Surajpur Choa, a tributary of the Sirsa *Nadi* in the Kalka tahsil of district Ambala, Haryana. Barotiwala lies about a km. to its north-east. Located in the shadow of the Shiwaliks, it has been the playground of the palaeolithic man.[2] The site, however, seems to have remained abondoned for a long time thereafter to be reoccupied by the CCP people during the second millennium B.C.[3] It, however, did not remain inhabited for long but people resettled here during the early medieval period when Pinjaur was a flourishing town. The art-activity of the latter seems to have extended upto Marhanwala and some temples were built here. Sculptural and architectural relics from Marhanwala have been collected by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Cultural and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana (henceforth HARDAM), Chandigarh.[4] Three *āmalakas* (myrobalans), the crowning elements of the medieval Nāgara temples, found from Marhanwala, indicate that there existed a few temples here. The biggest of these *āmalakas* measures 41X20 cms. (Fig. 1)[5]. It shows a depressed centre for supporting the *stūpikā* finial, two examples of which have been recovered from the site.[6] Another *āmalaka* measures 36 X 12.5 cms. and shows a square socket hole in the centre and a small round hole near the edge (Fig. 2)[7]. The central socket was meant for supporting the tenon of the finial and the round hole for the flag-staff. The third *āmalaka* is a broken one and measures 35 X 13 cms.[8] A spire-drum measuring 37 X 17 cms.[9] has also been obtained from the site. It supported the *āmalaka* on it.

The discovery of two Śiva-*liṅgas* from Marhanwala indicates the existence of Śiva temples at the site. The bigger of the two measures 46X20 cms.[10], and is unfinished (Fig. 3). It thus provides us the important evidence of the sculptures having been carved at Marhanwala itself. The other Śiva-*linga*[11] measures 42 X 14 cms. and has been prepared according to the canonical injuntions dividing it into the square Brahma-*bhāga,* octagonal Vishṇu-bhāga and roundish Śiva-*bhāga* of equal dimensions (Fig. 4). The existence of Śaiva temples is corroborated by three Nandī (bull) figures from the site which measures 60 X 31.5 cms.[12], 49 X 39 cms.[13] and 42 X 38 cms.[14]

Of the images of deities recovered from Marhanwala, the largest piece representing Mahishāsuramardinī in a framed panel (Fig. 5) measures 36 X 33.5 cms.[15] The panel is broken on its proper right hand side. The goddess is depicted as standing in *pratyālīḍha* pose holding the buffalo by its tail with hind part lifted up and hind legs folded. She is pressing the face of the animal with her right foot. The upper half body of the goddess is almost to front with a relaxed facial expression. She holds the trident which is thrust into the back of the buffalo by her front right hand and a sword in her extra right hand. The back left hand holds a bell. The normal left hand holding the tail of the buffalo seems to touch the left thigh. Since the panel is broken on the proper right hand side of the goddess, we do not know for certain as to what xisted there. Even though broken, the panel shows the goddess lmost a complete figure. The lion and the anthropomorphic demon merging from the severed neck are only a matter of guess. The oddess wears a small cylindrical crown on her head. The figure is ery much worn and has chipped off at places. It is difficult to make ut the finer details of dress and ornamentation. The squat crown, parse ornamentation, the style of holding the demon by its tail, the osition of the buffalo with its uplifted back etc. are, however, eminiscent of the Gupta art tradition which seems to have lingered on o the early medieval period to which this relief may be attributed.

A pedestal showing a lotus placed on it with a lion carved on the side measuring 26 X 15.5 cms.[16] may be a part of the Parvati (Durgā) image which was worshipped by the people of Marhanwala in the early medieval period. Two lion figures,[17] too, indicate the popularity of her worship at the place.

A very fragmentary relief, 24.5 X 20 cms.[18], showing a hand holding the mace and the other disposed in *abhaya,* another part of a sculpture representing only a hand with a conch (11.5 X 9.5 cms.)[19] and still another hand holding a horizontally placed conch (9.5 X 6.5 cms.)[20] are the definite evidence of the images of Vishṇu. The uppermost part of an image showing the flying *Vidyādharas*[21] supporting a cylindrical crown above the gloriole (Fig. 6), too, may have originally formed part of an image of Vishṇu and so also a fragmentary relief[22] representing Garuḍa with folded hands (Fig. 7).[23]

In the Department of AIHC & Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh, is preserved another fragmentary relief from Marhanwala[24] which shows the lower half of a female figure seated on the folded left leg of a god. The female wears a nether garment which is secured by a waist-hand. She also wears anklets. The heads of two subsidiary figures, one below the right foot of the goddess and the other below the folded knee of the god may also be seen. A leogryph jumping to right has also survived on the extreme projection of the panel behind and above the folded left leg of the goddess. Much more important, however, is the hand which has survived below the folded left leg of the god. This may have been the hand of anthropomorphic Garuḍa and the whole relief may have represented Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa supported by Garuḍa (Fig. 8).[25]

That an image of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa existed at Marhanwala is definitely proved by another fragmentary relief measuring 23 X 17 cms. (Fig. 9)[26] showing the head and bust of Lakshmī with the left hand of Vishṇu holding the discus above her left shoulder. The goddess bears a massive bun on her head, wears *karṇa-kuṇḍalas, ekāvalī* and a necklace which falls on her slender belly from over the globular breasts. Vishṇu's hand shows a bracelet. A tassel comes out from the hub of the discus. The execution of the relief is rather crude. Stylistically, this, as also most other reliefs discussed above may be placed in *circa* tenth century A.D.[27]

We thus see that Marhanwala has yielded quite a good number of relics of art indicating the existence of Śaiva, Śākta and Vaishṇava shrines at the site. The stone used is greyish, greenish, blackish or brownish sandstone available in plenty locally from the nearby hills. That the images were carved at Marhanwala itself is indicated by an unfinished Śiva-*Liṅga* The execution of the images is rather crude and lacks the refinement and sophistication of the urban centres.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Cf. *Marg*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, Haryana Heritage, Sept. 1974.
2. *Indian Archaeology 1971-72—A Review*, p. 23.
3. *Ibid.*
4. We are thankful to the Director, HARDAM, for the photographs of some of the art-remains published here.
5. HARDAM, Accession no. 1/7. Unless otherwise stated the sculptures described here are preserved in HARDAM.
6. *Ibid.* Acc. nos. 1/15 and 1/16 measuring respectively 21.5 X 13.5 and 21 X 14 cms.
7. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/14.
8. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/8.
9. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/9.
10. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/17.
11. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/5.
12. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/20.
13. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/23.
14. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/22.
15. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/18.
16. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/10.
17. *Ibid.* Acc. nos. 1/19 and 1/21. They measure 51 X 32 cms. and 67 X 31 cms. respectively. The former is broken.
18. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/13.
19. *Ibid.* Acc. no. 1/12.

20. It is now preserved in the Department of AIHC & Archaeology, P.U., Chandigarh.

21. Acc. no. 1/11.

22. Acc. no. 1/196.

23. Devendra Handa "Vaishṇava Icons from Haryana", *Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Chandigarh, Vol. XVI, no. 2, October, 1985, p. 69, fig. 33.

24. Acc. no. 59.

25. Cf. Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*., New Delhi, 1973, Figs. 14, 15, 30, 36, 39, 40, etc.

26. Acc. no. 1/197.

27. An architectural piece measuring 32 X 17 cms. bearing Acc. no. 1/9 is also preserved in HARDAM. The Department of AIHC & Archaeology, P.U., Chandigarh preserves a fragmentary relief showing the right foot of a deity, wearing an anklet, placed on a lotus. The deity cannot be identified because of the fragmentary nature of the relief. It bears Acc. no. 57.

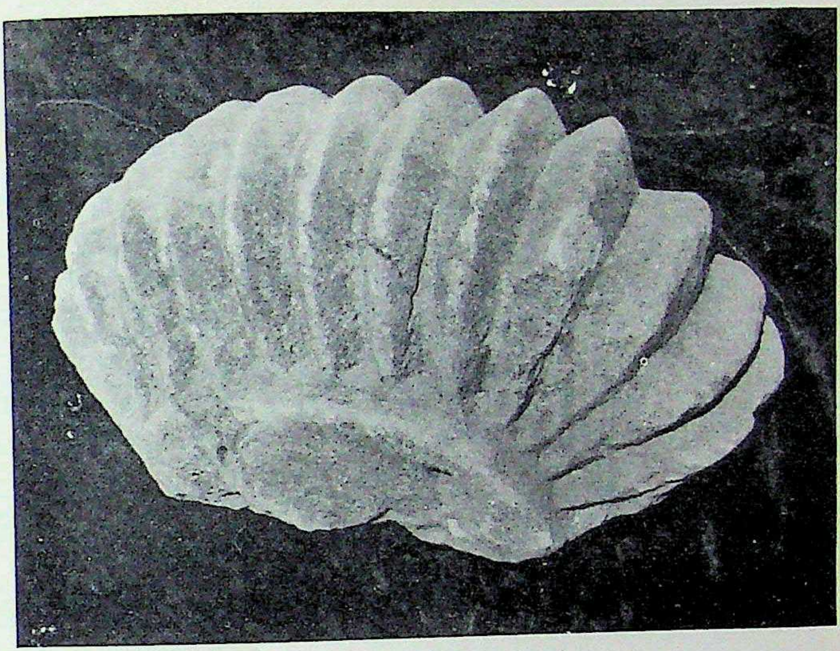


Fig. 1. *Āmalaka* (Myrobalan)

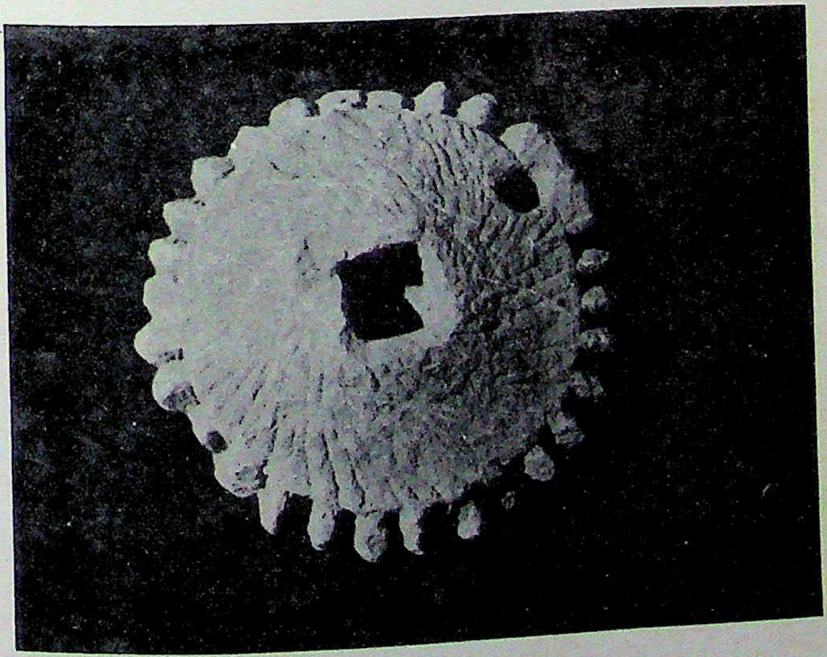


Fig. 2. *Āmalaka* with a square socket and round hole

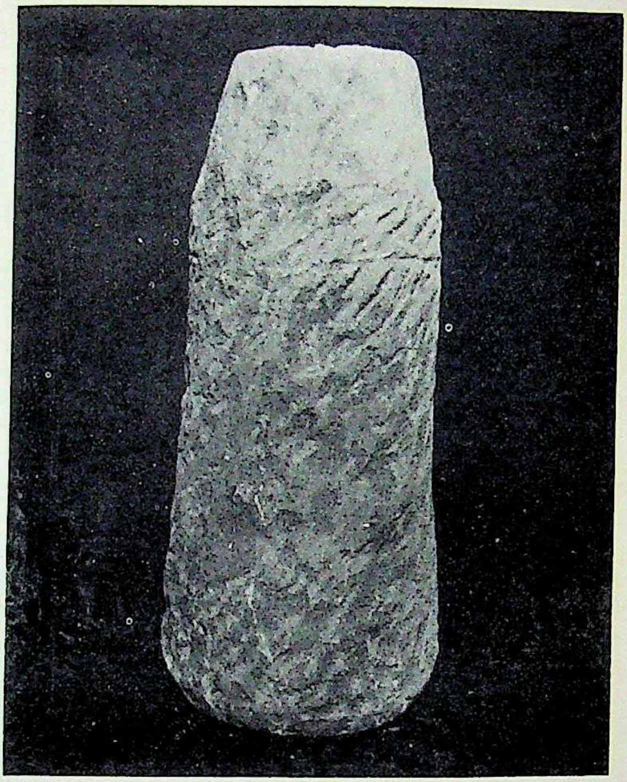


Fig. 3. Unfinished Śiva-*Liṅga*

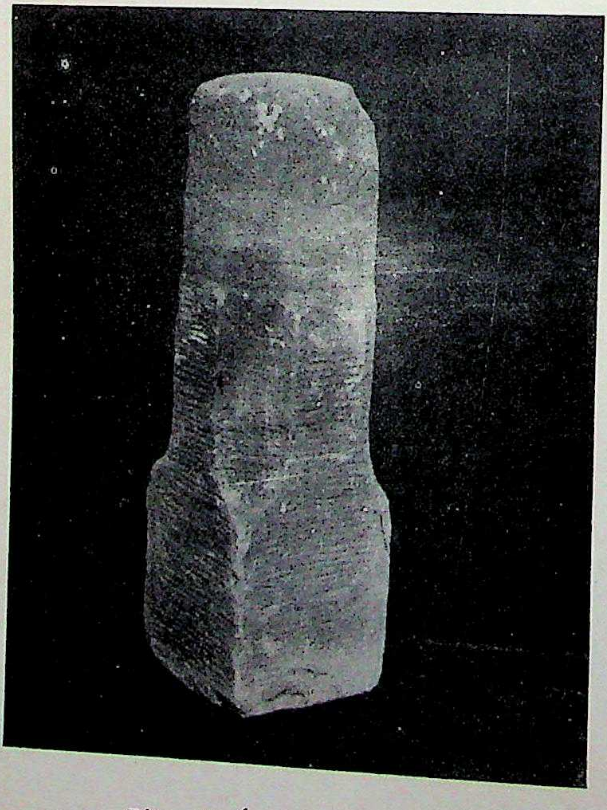


Fig. 4. Śiva-*Liṅga*

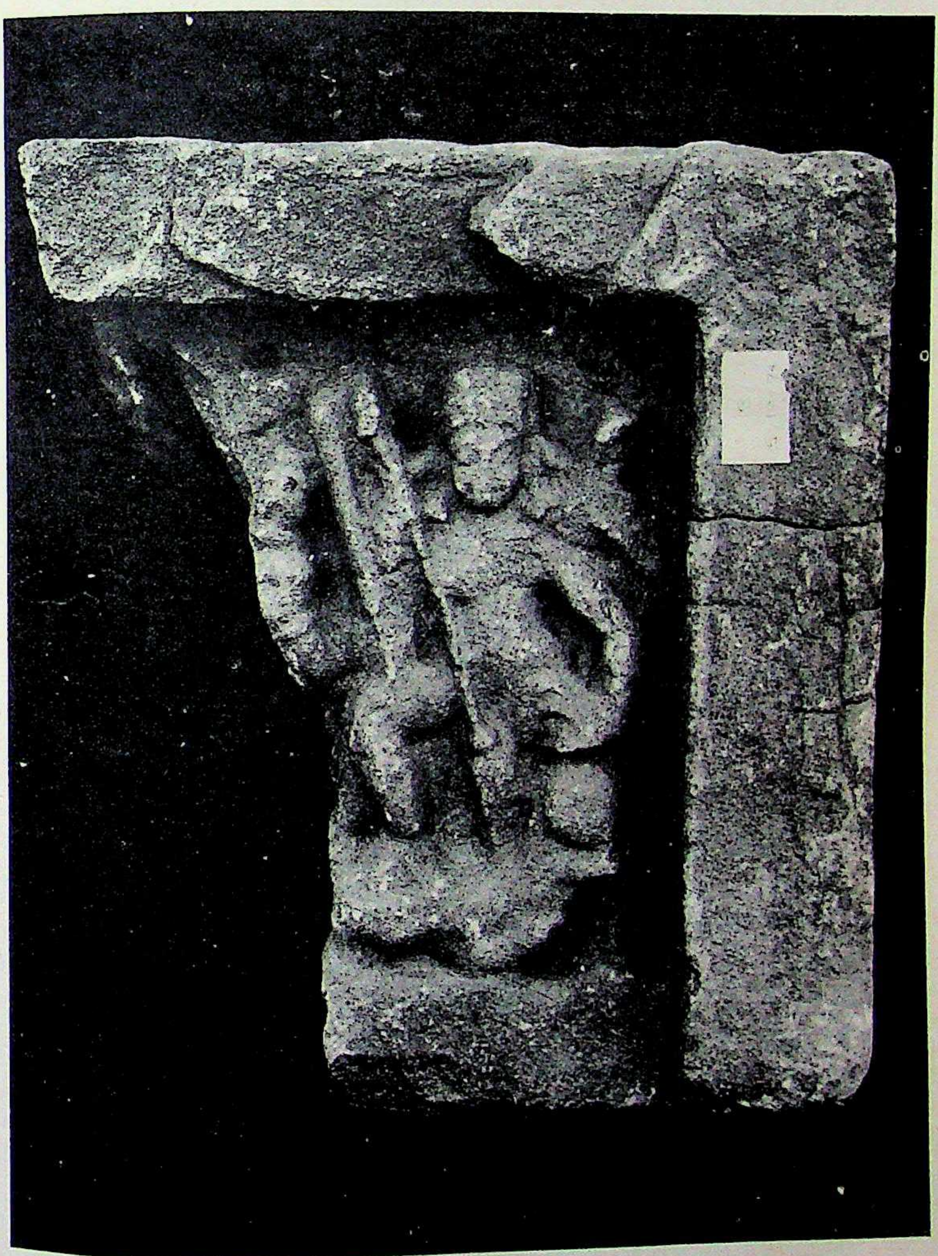


Fig. 5. Mahishāsuramardinī

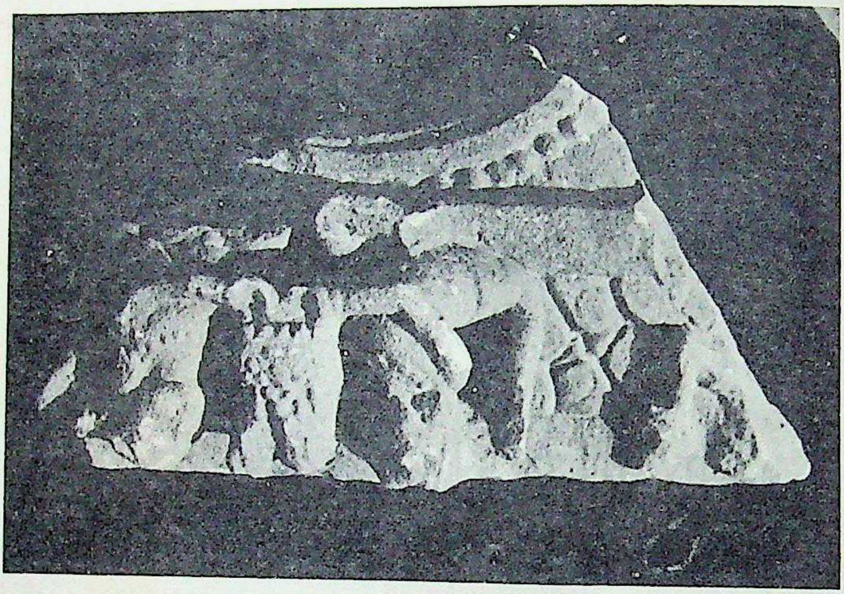


Fig. 6. *Vidyādharas* supporting a cylindrical crown

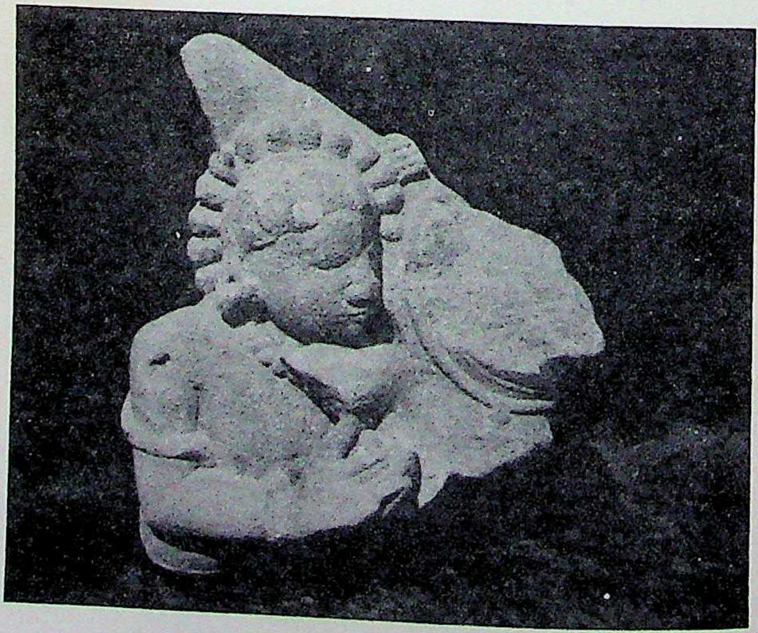


Fig. 7. Garuḍa with folded hands

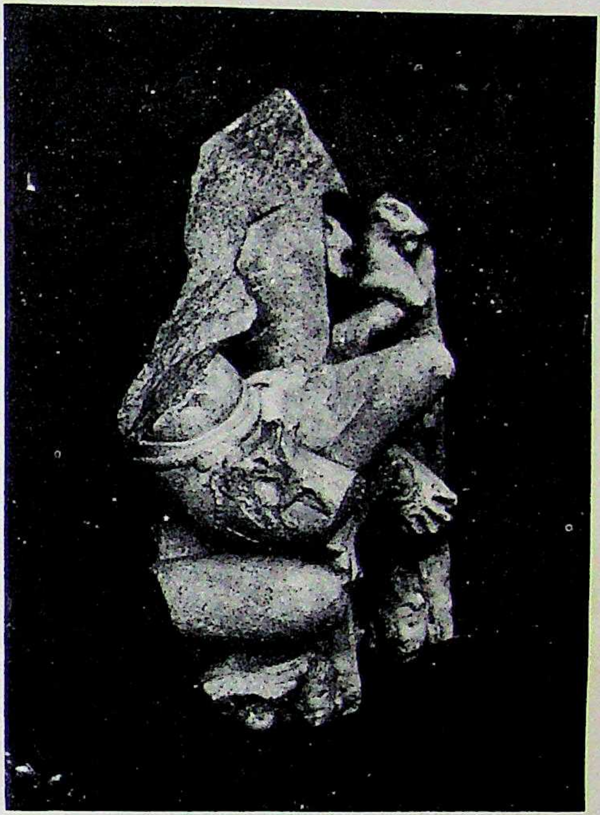


Fig. 8. A fragmentary relief of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa

Fig. 9. Fragment of a Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa image.

DOCUMENTS ON GEORGE THOMAS

A.D. Malik

The history of George Thomas is fairly well known and his life has been well documented thanks to his contemporaries and his chance meeting with Captain William Franklin to whom he narrated his military exploits shortly before his death in 1802. William Franklin, on his part, did full justice to the account of Thomas and published it in Calcutta in 1803 under the title *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas.* The published records on Thomas have already been critically reviewed by such eminent historians as Sir Jadunaṭh Sarkar and Hari Ram Gupta. The object of the present paper is to bring to notice some of the unpublished revenue records which have hitherto remained unnoticed and inaccessible to the students of history. Secondly, I also publish here for the first time a sketch map of the fortress of Jahaz Garh built by George Thomas. The documents quoted hereafter rather corroborate the version of Thomas as given in the *Memoirs.*

George Thomas was the military governor of Jhajhar on behalf of the Marathas during the last decade of the eighteenth century and ruled as an independent Raja of Haryana with his capital at Hansi from 1798 to 1801. He was brave and ruthless and yet compassionate in comparison to his contemporary robber-kings. That was why that as late as 1879, H.C . Franshawe found that Thomas was "still spoken of admiringly by the people, whose affection he gained by his gallantry and kindness."[1] The documents we quote hereafter, however, give a matter-of-fact account of him. That has to be so because these are the records prepared by Kanungoes and Tehsildars in their official capacity.

The oldest document pertaining to George Thomas I have been able to lay my hand upon is a Qanungoi paper (Plate I) giving account of land revenue of certain villages from the year 1205 Fasli to till after 1216 Fasli. It is in Persian language. I had seen this document, alongwith the other two, in the collection of Lala Kunj Lal Singal, retired Station Master, and a resident of Kanungo Mohalla, Jind. It was on 26th January, 1977 that I had these documents photographed. I am told that Lala Kunj Lal expired late in 1977 and his collection is now with his son-in-law who lives at Patiala. Lala Kunj Lal was the descendent of an old Qanungo family and claimed that these documents were prepared when the British officers had established their authority over Hansi and Hissar in about A.D. 1810. I have no reason to disbelieve him. Rather, the internal evidence of these documents bears testimony to the correctness of his version. The last Fasli year, 1216, mentioned in the document published here corrosponds to A.D. 1808. The second document (not being illustrated here) clearly shows at the top that the account was recorded by Nirmal Dass Qanungo of Hissar. Again, Nirmal Dass frequently finds mention in the revenue records of Hansi and Hissar prepared under the orders of Garner during 1810-11. We can surmise that the document on George Thomas being published here was also prepared by Nirmal Dass whose name must have found mention on the top of this paper in its original condition.

Roughly translated, this document, making mention of George Thomas, states : "From Samvat 1840 to 1853 all these villages were in ruins and without population. From Samvat 1854 corresponding to 1205 Fasli, George Thomas Sahib Bahadur took possession of them and the *Sarishta* arrangements were suspended and the papers of these years of this district were filed in. From Samvat 1857 corrosponding to the 1208 Fasli these villages were depopulated again and hence the details of the *sanads* (accounts) are included in Hissar Tehsil." Then the document gives village wise details of revenue assessment.

The second oldest Persian document making mention of George Thomas is available in a bound volume of the copies of the claims of land grants preferred before Garner during A.D. 1810-11 at Hansi and Hissar. It is a sort of civil suit filed on 2nd May, 1811 by one Mohammad Amir against Mirza Azim Beg and others claiming that a well and one hundred *Pukhta* Bighas of land together with a dwelling house were bestowed upon him by Jehaz Sahib (George Thomas) when Mohammad Amir, having quitted his home at Lucknow, had arrived at Hansi which was then desolate and was being re-populated by the latter. In his petition Mohammad Amir further claims that when the Sahib came to Hansi, it was lying desolate and depopulated and that he summoned people of all ranks and occupations and himself bestowed lands and properties upon them. Further, Mohammad Amir states in his petition that when a submission was made to the Sahib as to what would be the situation if the previous owners of these properties chose to return to Hansi and claimed their properties. To this, says the plaintiff, the Sahib had replied that Hansi had remained depopulated since long and that at the moment no one was the owner of this town but he. Further, the plaintiff asserts that when Jehaz Sahib re-populated the town it had remained desolate for 17 years. Since the respondents did not challenge the claim of the plaintiff the suit was decreed in his favour on 6th July, 1911.

The third document making mention of George Thomas which I have seen is a manuscript history of Sampla Tehsil compiled and scribed in his own hand in A.D. 1866 by Mool Chand Kayasth, Naib Tehsildar Sampla. This manuscript which runs into 398 pages of the size 25 cm x 16 cm is in the private collection of Mr. O.P.S. Rao, a retired HCS officer, now living at Panchkula. It mentions that when the Pargana of Kharkhauda was under the administrative control of Baghel Singh, a relative of the Sikh Raja of Kaithal, George Thomas collected Nazrana from Kharkhauda and Mandothi between 1205-1207 Fasli. It also says that when the residents of village Sisana refused to pay Nazrana to George Thomas, he took military action against them, plundered and devasted their village, and compelled them to pay him Rs. 2911.00 P. At that time the area of village Sisana was 12272 Bighas. Another document pertaining to land revenue collection of this village shows that in A.D. 1842 *Mauza* Sisana was assessed at Rs. 2158.00 per annum.

The village-wise historical accounts incorporated in the Settlement Reports of 1879, now preserved in the Revenue Record Room, Rohtak, throw interesting light on the life and times of George Thomas. In the paragraph titled *'Bina-e-Deh Maie Wajah Tasmeah'* pertaining to village Mohammadpur Majra it has been stated by the village elders that the fortress of Jehazgarh (George Garh) was built by George Thomas in the area of their village and that he had also set up a cantonment there. Afterwards when Jehaz Sahib abandoned the fortress in 1801, the persons employed as workers and artisans and also the cultivators living in the cantonment continued inhabiting the place, and were declared owners of their lands and properties during the reign of Nawab Abdul Rehman of Jhajhar. It was during this period that Jehaz Garh was carved out into a separate revenue estate and was named Hussain Ganj.

Most books on George Thomas mention that George Thomas had erected the fortress of Jehaz Garh to overawe the defiant people of Jhajhar and Beri. But Munshi Ghulam Nabi in his history of Jhajhar mentions that there were four such villages which Thomas wanted to keep under check by means of his cantonment of Jehaz Garh. The other two villages mentioned by Ghulam Nabi are Kanhore and Majra.[2] It shows that Thomas chose to build the fortress at Mohammadpur Majra because it was both centrally located as well as defiant village. Regarding village Kanhore it may be mentioned that William Franklin has mis-spelt it as Kanhoreé which is likely to be confused with Khanori which too was captured by Mr. Thomas. These days village Kanhore has come to be called as Kahnore and it is by this name that it is mentioned in the revenue records since 1879.

The Settlement records of village Jehaz Garh pertaining to the year 1879 reveal that in the days gone by a rivulet (or a storm water drain) used to run by the site of Jehaz Garh. The site was then a sort of jungle which was populated by Jehaz Sahib who invited all sort of people to come and settle down in his cantonment town. After Thomas was defeated by the armies sent down by Perron, the inhabitants of the place ran away but were resettled in the village by Nawab Najatab Ali Khan of Jhajhar. At that time the fortress of Jehaz Garh came under the possession of the Nawab who stationed 2000 of his troops in it under his son and renamed it Hussain Ganj.

At the time I paid a visit to Jehaz Garh in March, 1984, there was not a trace of the fortress but the crumbling walls of the Kothi or dwelling place of George Thomas within the fortress area were still visible. There I met Raghbir Singh S/o Nathu Ram Jat, aged 95 years who had seen the Kothi in a much better shape. Hari Singh Lambardar, aged 60 years, told me that he remembered to have seen the heavy log of wood which was used to 'screw in the prisoners' legs in Kath Garh or the Jail. Master Rati Ram, former Sarpanch, aged 65 years, whose house is adjacent to the Kothi site of George Thomas in the fortress area, showed me the site where he had discovered a room full of rotten black gram burried under the ruins and debris of the fortress barracks. There is a well within the compound of his house which must have been dug during the times of George Thomas. This was still in use and so were two more wells while two others had been filled up. The upper layers of the otherwise bricklined well in the house of Master Rati Ram had Kankar stone construction. A few Kankar slabs lying in another house nearby were claimed to have been a part of the foundation of the fort wall. The thickness of the Kankar slabs was 23.5 cm and their width was 47 cm while their length varied from 50 to 60 centimeters. Another place pointed out to me was the Kot Khai or the magzine. H.C. Fanshawe, the Settlement Officer of Rohtak, while commenting on the remains of the magzine and the residence of Thomas has remarked that these "bear evidence in their solid construction that they were not constructed in the latter half of the nineteenth century."[3] I, however, differ from him. The design of the residence is certainly not of the Mughal or pre-Mughal period and bears clear imprint of the English architecture. All available evidence rather points to the fact that the fortress was built by George Thomas in village Mohammadpur Majra in the jungle area of Bir Chuchakwas.

I found Master Rati Ram and other village elders fairly knowledgeable and extremely helpful. The ancestors of Master Rati Ram, as he told me, had come and settled some two hundred years ago when the dwelling houses in the deserted town were still standing intact and were useable. From this we can deduce that they must have come here after A.D. 1803 when this area came under the possession of the East India Company and was bestowed upon the Nawab of Jhajhar. Jehaz Garh was abandoned by George Thomas late in 1801, and the village records quoted already show that the place was initially deserted and was then re-populated by the Nawab. Rati Ram is well up in historical tradition handed down to him by his father and the grand father. He and other gentlemen took us around the area and showed us the alignment of the boundary wall of the fortress, the location of the watch towers (Burj), the site of the main gate and the location of the stairs leading into the ditch below which was said to be an underground tunnel serving as a secret escape route. They told us that while the fortress was built of bricks and mortar there was a mud wall around the adjoining Mandi or civil station. During my visit to Jehaz Garh I was accompanied by my friend, Mr. Ram Kishan Malik, M.A. (English & History) who was then posted as Block Development Officer at Rohtak. To verify the truth of the alignment of the boundary wall of the fortress and the location of the watch towers, as pointed out by the village elders, he volunteered to have the foundations unearthed at random. This was done and the sketch map of the fortress of Jehaz Garh which we publish with this article (Fig. 1) was drawn by Mr. I.S. Hooda, Junior Engineer, Sampla, after due survey and reasonable satisfaction. It is based on the oral testimony of the persons named above which is corroborated by the evidence on the ground. It is the first drawing of the Jehaz Garh fortress ever published.

A dwelling house of the bunglow-style built by Mr. George Thomas in the deserted town of Hissar in 1794 still stands almost intact and looks beautiful inspite of the ugly additions which peep out distinctly in the photograph published here (Plate II). Almost three-fourth of the building stands as it was built by George Thomas. In place of the rear bedroom on the right side a new room was built long ago and beyond that another room has been added. Looking from inside one gets confused about the original design and plan of construction but once one climbs up the roof the original plan shows up without much difficulty. We publish here the site plan of the original building as it must have been (Fig. 2). The bunglow is now called the

Jehaz Kothi and is used as the residence of the Deputy Director of the Animal Husbandry Department. George Thomas had fixed upon this house a name plate of his consisting of a marble slab 62 cm long. We cannot know the exact height of the slab since it broke into two and fell down many years ago. I was able to locate the lower portion of the slab comprising of 60 to 70 percent of the original height. The piece in my possession in 35 cm. high. On the upper half of the slab was carved the name of George Thomas in English while in the lower portion it was carved out in Urdu. The Urdu portion reads : "Maqam Rehaish, George Thomas Sahib, 1796." Translated, it would mean : "Place of residence of George Thomas Sahib." We publish the photograph of the portion of the name plate available with us (Plate III). The Jehaz Kothi at Hissar is the only living monument which reminds us of Mr. George Thomas and needs to be protected and preserved.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Settlement Report of Rohtak District,* 1873-79, p. 32.
2. *Tarikh-i-Jhajhar,* (Urdu), Faiz Ahmad Press, Jhajhar, 1866.
3. *Settlement Report of Rohtak District,* 1873-79, p. 31.

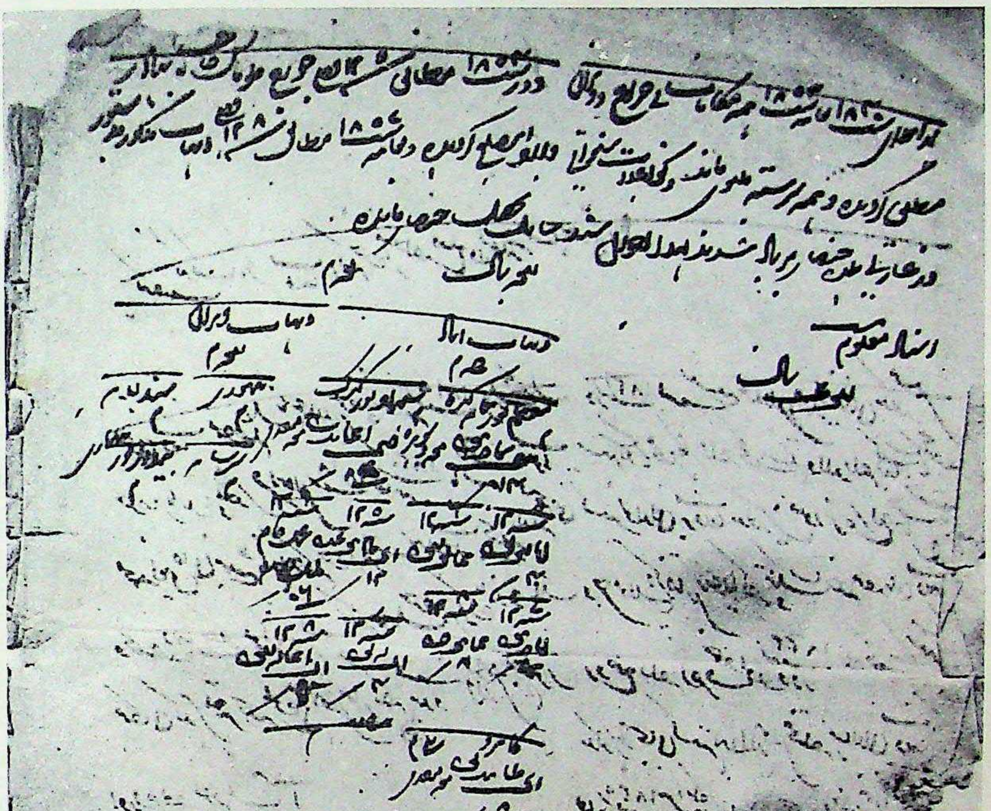


Plate 1
A Qanungoi paper in Persian making mention of
George Thomas written in A.D. 1810

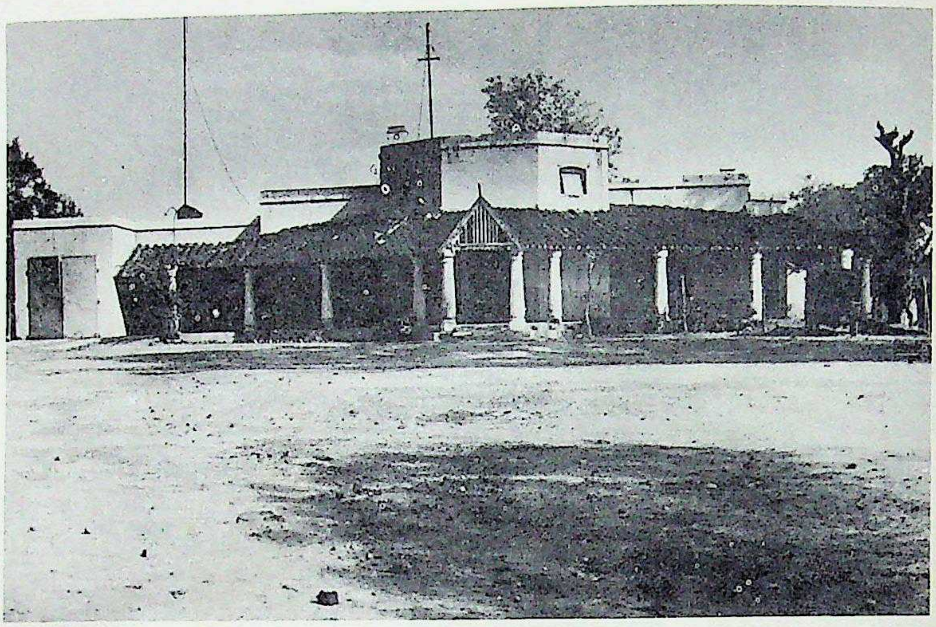


Plate II
Jehaz Kothi Hissar, Residence of Mr. George Thomas now in possession of Govt. and being used as residence Dy. Dir. Agriculture. Photo taken 2-2-1981.

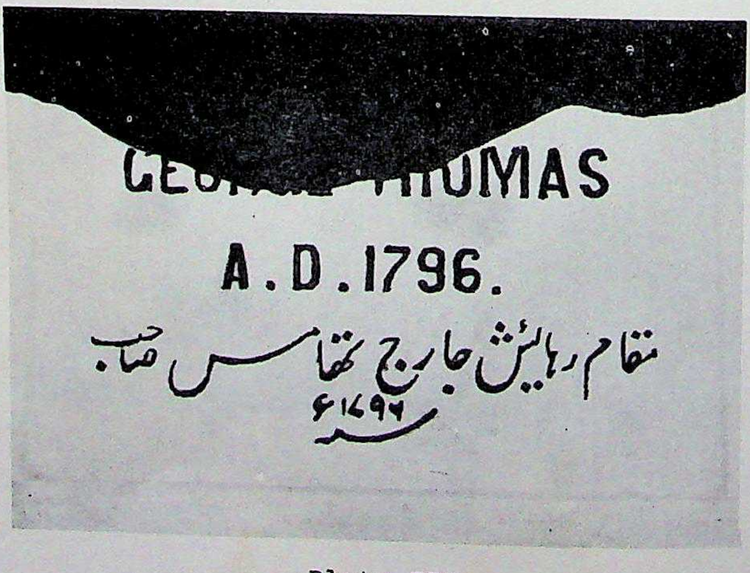

GEO HOMAS
A.D.1796.
مقام رہائش جارج تھامس صاحب
سنہ ۱۷۹۶ء

Plate III
Name plate on the Jehaz Kothi

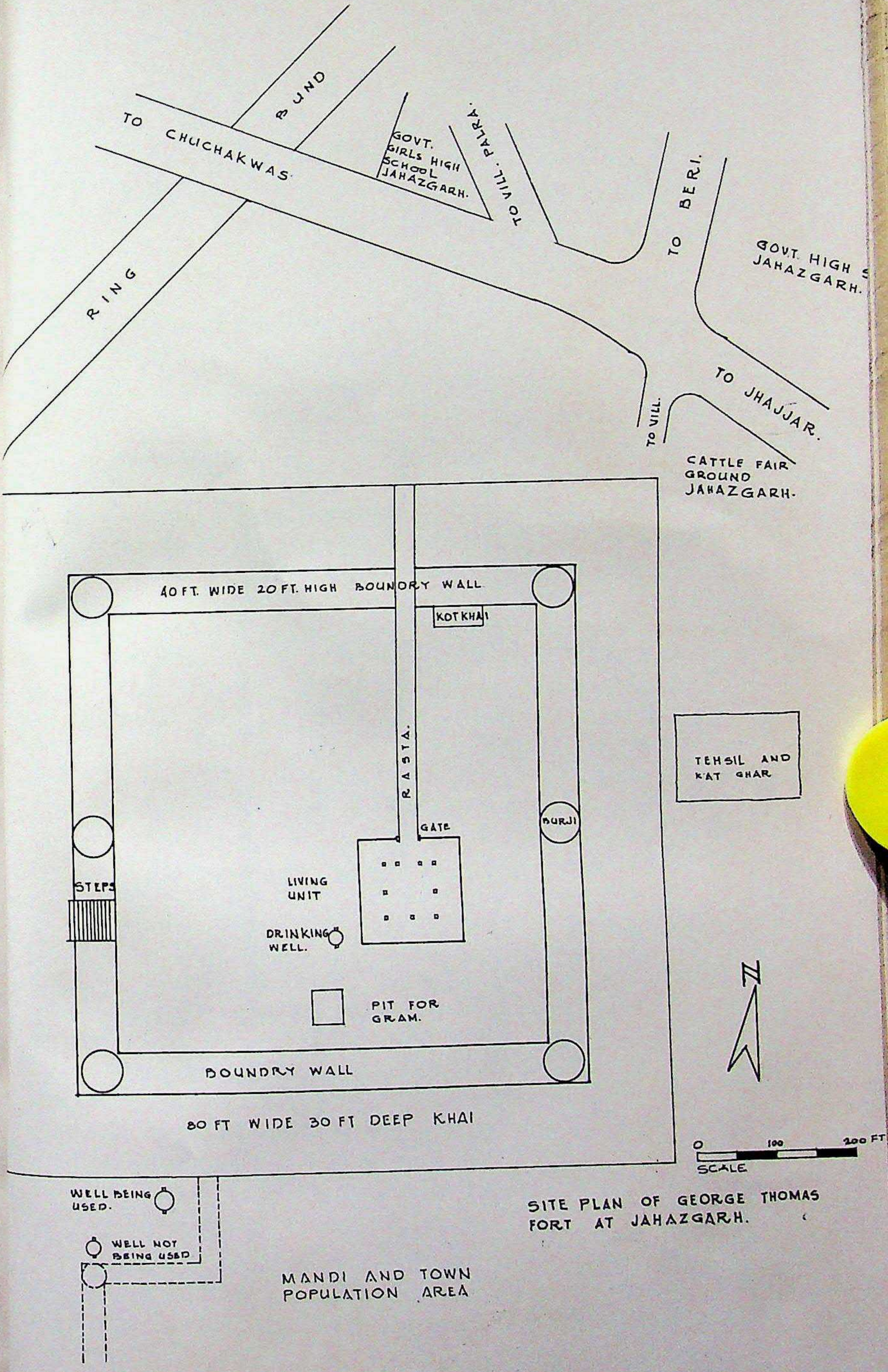

BUND
TO CHUCHAKWAS
GOVT. GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL JAHAZGARH.
TO VILL. PALRA.
TO BERI.
GOVT. HIGH S
JAHAZGARH.
RING
TO JHAJJAR.
TO VILL.
CATTLE FAIR GROUND JAHAZGARH.
40 FT. WIDE 20 FT. HIGH BOUNDRY WALL
KOTKHAI
RASTA.
GATE
BURJI
TEHSIL AND KAT GHAR
STEPS
LIVING UNIT
DRINKING WELL.
PIT FOR GRAM.
BOUNDRY WALL
80 FT WIDE 30 FT DEEP KHAI
0
100
200 FT
SCALE
WELL BEING USED.
WELL NOT BEING USED
SITE PLAN OF GEORGE THOMAS FORT AT JAHAZGARH.
MANDI AND TOWN POPULATION AREA

Fig. 1. Sketch map of the fortress of Jehaz Garh.

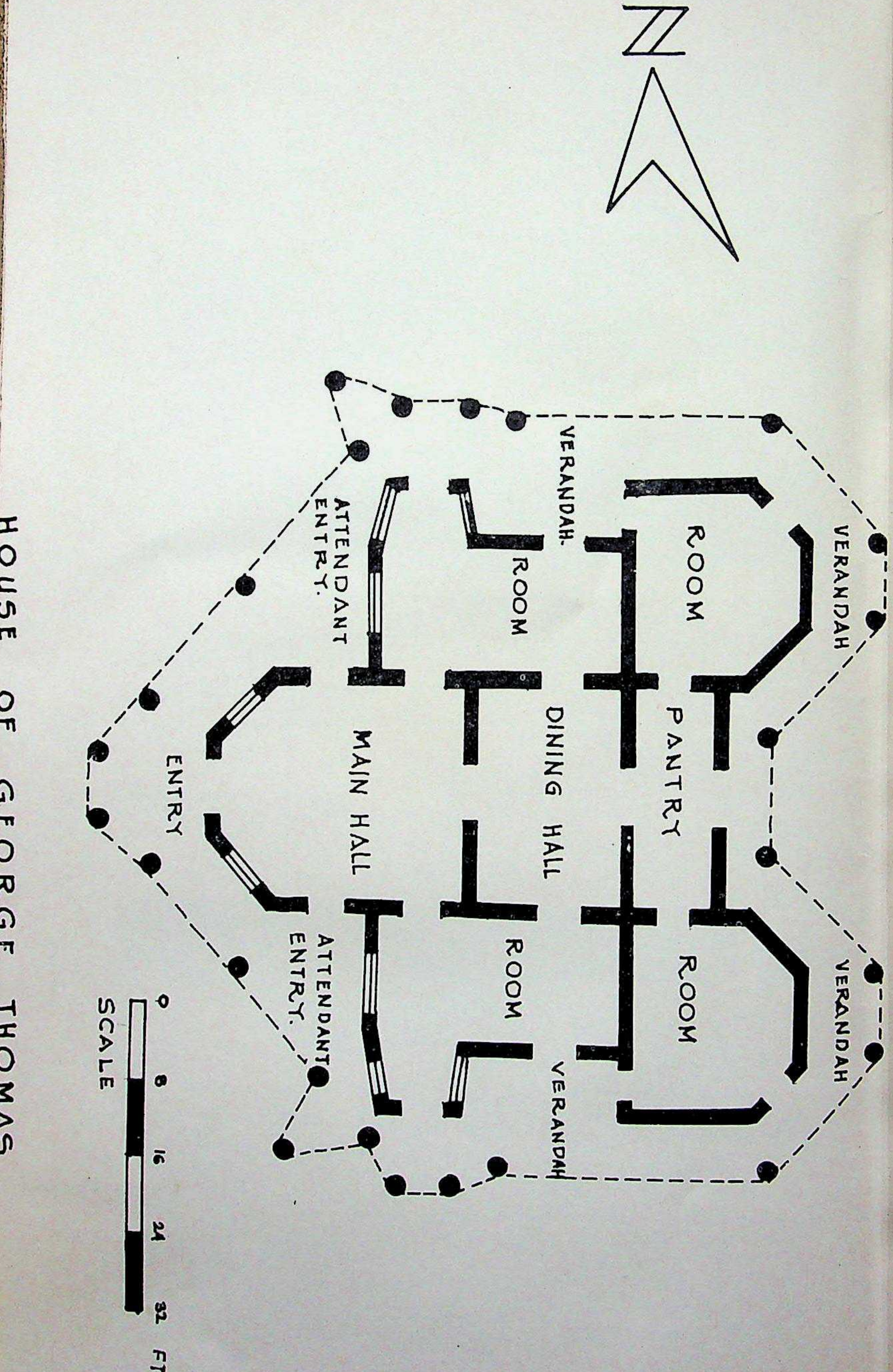

HOUSE OF GEORGE THOMAS.
N
VERANDAH.
ATTENDANT ENTRY.
ROOM
ROOM
VERANDAH
ENTRY
MAIN HALL
DINING HALL
PANTRY
ATTENDANT ENTRY.
ROOM
ROOM
VERANDAH
VERANDAH
SCALE
0
8
16
24
32 FT.

Fig. 2. Site Plan of the original building of the house of George Thomas.

SCULPTURAL REMAINS FROM BURAIL (CHANDIGARH)

Lalman

The lower Siwalik hills have been the habitat of the early man in India as evidenced by the discoveries of a large number of stone implements including pebble tools, choppers, chopping tools, scrapers, cores, and flake cores and neolithic tools, polished celts and ring stones, during the archaeological investigations in the Ghaggar Valley and the Pinjore-Kalka area.[1]

Archaeological explorations conducted earlier by the present writer[2] in and around Chandigarh and also in the foot-hills of the Shiwaliks have brought to light several important ancient sites besides Pre-Harappan, Harappan, Post-Harappan, Painted Grey Ware, Early historic and historical remains which include interesting sculptural and art relics belonging to the medieval period. Such discoveries of important sculptures and other relics of art from any ancient site has its own importance. So it is from this point of view that we publish below some of the sculptures and art relics from Burail (also spelt as Borail, Sector-45, Chandigarh), which is situated about 6 km. north-west of the main Bus Stand of Chandigarh and is easily approachable by bus from all sides. The present village, inhabited over an ancient mound, is on the left bank of a *nullah* which most probably emerged from the Sukhna lake and once passed through Sector Nos. 6, 7, 19, 20, 33 and 45. The Gauḍīya Chaitanya Maṭha and Śiva temple in Sector 20 too seem to have been located by the side of this *nullah*. The village mound is thickly populated on all sides and measures approximately half a square mile and rises to a height of about 80 ft. to 100 ft. from the general ground level. The mound yields Harappan, Paipted Grey Śuṅga -Kushāṇa, early medieval and medieval pottery. Muslim coins of both silver and copper were also reported from the site. This shows a continuous habitation of the village mound right from the Harppan to the Muslim period[3]. At a distance of about 100 yards towards west from the Khera Mandir, a Muslim fort built of lakhauri or Jahangiri bricks is also visible.

During the course of laying down the foundations for the new Śiva temple in the west of village and at a little distance from the Government High School in Sector-45, the labourers dug out the remains of an old Śiva temple. They include Śiva *liṅga* of grey sandstone which is now installed in the middle of the floor of the temple, and the Gaṇeśa figure fixed in the wall. This newly built temple is now under Dera Sidh Ghaneri Sudhar Sabha. The other important sculpture is most probably a Buddha head with curly hair, half buried and placed under a tree. The rest of the sculptures found from here have been removed to the other side of the village for worship, in a fane called Khera Mandir. All the sculptures are very much worn out and in an indifferent state of preservation.

The earliest of these pieces depicts a deity broken below the waist. The round foliated *mukuṭa*[4] and the long garland visible on the left shoulder indicate that it was an image of Vishṇu (Fig. 1). The god stands to front resting the left hand on the waist and the right hand disposed in *abhaya.* The left hand may have supported a conch or an attribute resembling a water flask. Since the hand is broken and the relief is mutilated below the waist, nothing can be said with certainty. It is difficult even to determine whether the god was two handed or four handed. All details of the oval face are gone but traces of ear ornaments, necklet and the under garment can be discerned. The figure, in its present form measures 11 X 9 cm.

The existence of a Vaishṇava temple at the site, however, is corroborated by an architectural piece measuring 40 X 15 cm. showing a beautifully carved chaurī-bearer (Fig. 2). This attendant figure wearing a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa,* ear rings, *ekāvalī,* sacred thread, armlets, wristlets, an under garment held in position by a waist-band and a long floral garland stands gracefully in *dvibhaṅga,* slightly turned to his right holding a fly-whisk in his right hand above the right shoulder and resting the other on the left thigh. The feet of the figure are gone. The *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa,* the sacred thread and the long garland indicate the figure to have been an attendant of Vishṇu. Above the head of this figure may be seen a *gaja-vyāla,* now slightly mutilated. Stylistically the piece may be assigned to circa 9th Cent. A.D.

Another fragmentary relief, 25 X 10 cm. in its present condition, may also have been an attendant of Vishṇu as it also shows the long floral garland (Fig. 3). Finer details cannot be made out because of the worn-out condition of the image. In dress and ornamentations it seems to have been similar to the preceding figure.

A small fragment, 18 X 14 cm. in size, shows a stela depicting Brahmā seated in *sukhāsana* (Fig. 4). The god is three headed, the central face shows the beard also. He holds a laddle and a book in his back right and left hands, the principal right hand is disposed in *abhaya* and the normal left probably holds a water vessel. To the extreme right of the deity may be seen a subsidiary figure, resting his right hand on the slightly bent right knee, very much mutilated now. Partly visible circular halo on the left of the god indicates that this figure was carved on the right hand side of an image of some deity, probably Vishṇu.

A 15 X 7 cm. fragment depicts a beautiful *vyāla* figure (Fig. 5). The animal seems to be mythical and can not be identified properly.

There are some other architectural pieces and images which are worn-out beyond proper identification. All these pieces are made of greyish sandstone available from the nearby Shiwalik hills. The discovery of these relics proves beyond doubt the existence of Hindu fanes at Burail during the medieval period.

REFERENCES

1. (a) Chopra, S.R.K. (Ed.), *Early Man in Northwest India*, 1979.
   (b) Khatri, A.P., *Indian Archaeology 1959-60—A Review*, p. 74.
   (c) Lalman, Discovery of an Upper Palaeolithic Site in the Ghaggar Valley, *Indian Archaeology 1977-78—A Review*, p. 82.
   (d) Lalman, Hand-Axe—A New Discovery in Ghaggar-Nalagarh Complex, *Current Science*, Vol. 47, No. 17, 1978, pp. 629-30.
   (e) Mohapatra, G.C. & Singh. M., Stratified Occurrence of Lithic Artifacts in the Siwalik Frontal Range of Western Sub-Himalaya. *The* Research *Bulletin (Arts), Panjab University*, Chandigarh, Vol. X, No. 1-2 (Oct. 1979), pp. 65-77.
   (f) Sen, D., Naḷagarh Palaeolithic Culture, *Man in India*, 35 (iii), 1955, pp. 176-84.
   (g) Sharma, J.C., Palaeolithic Tools from Pleistocene Deposits in Punjab, India, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 18, 1977, pp. 94-95.
2. Lalman, Archaeological exploration in and around Chandigarh and in the foot-hills of the Siwaliks, *Indian Archaeology 1975-76—A Review*, pp. 38-39.
3. Lalman, Archaeology of Chandigarh, *Indological Studies*, (Ed.) Devendra Ḥanda, Caxton Publishers,. Delhi, 1987, pp. 379-400.
4. This type of *mukuṭa* was prevalent during the Kushāṇa period, Cf. Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi, 1973, Fig. 3.

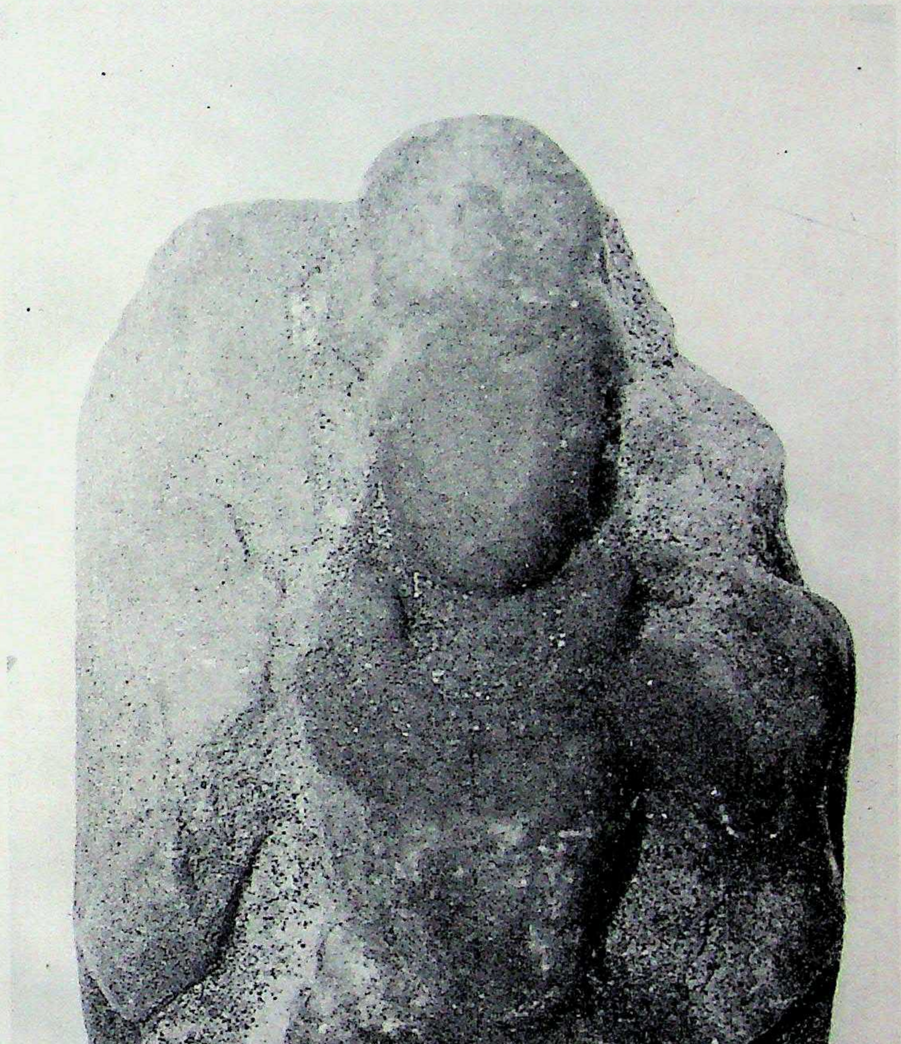


Fig. 1. Vishṇu

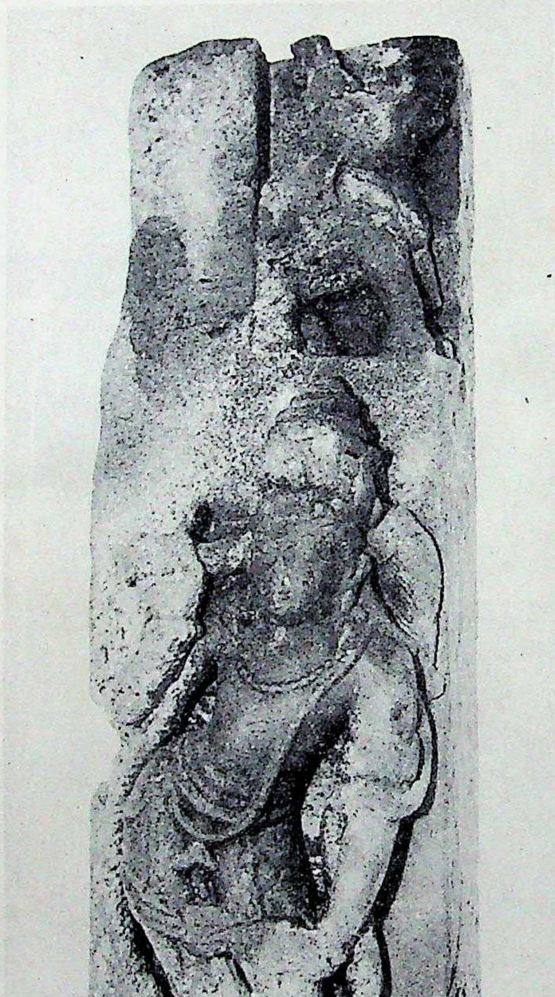


Fig. 2. A Vaishṇava fly-whisker

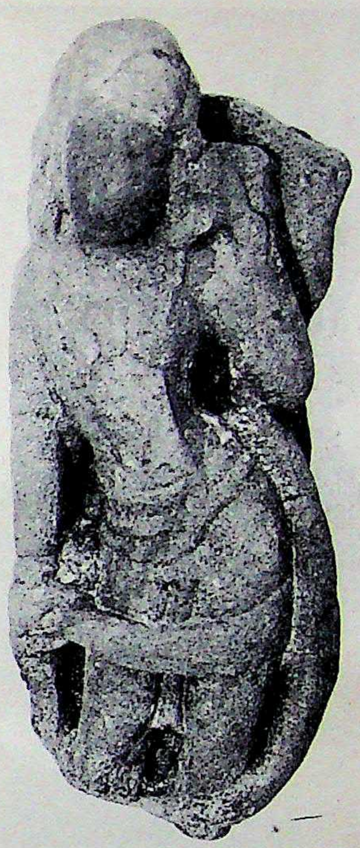


Fig. 3. A Vaishṇava attendant

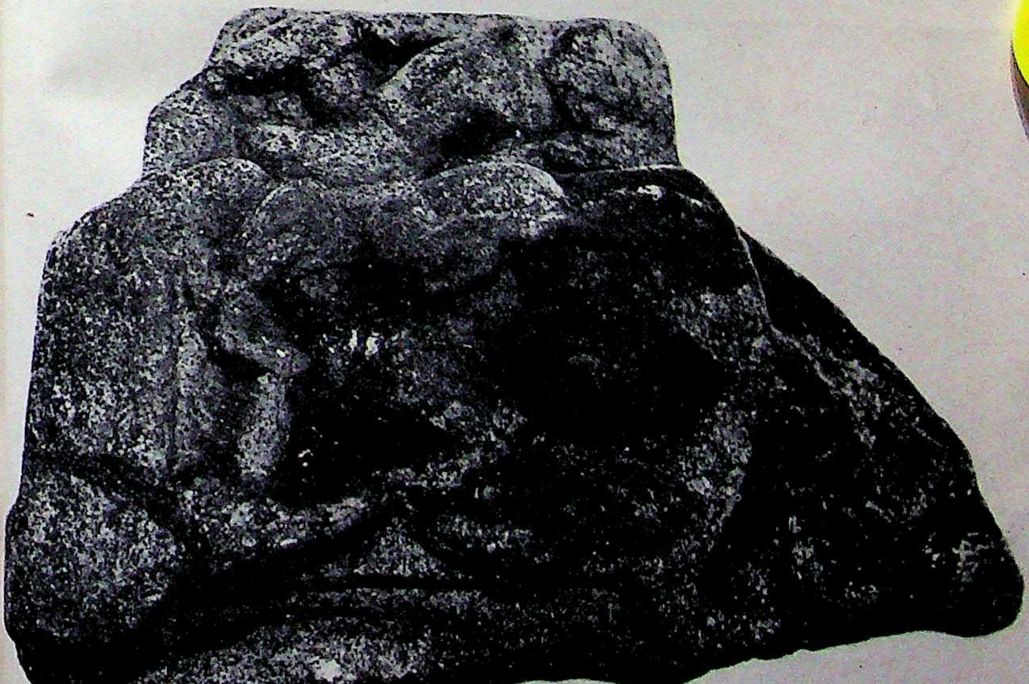


Fig. 4. Stela showing Brahmā

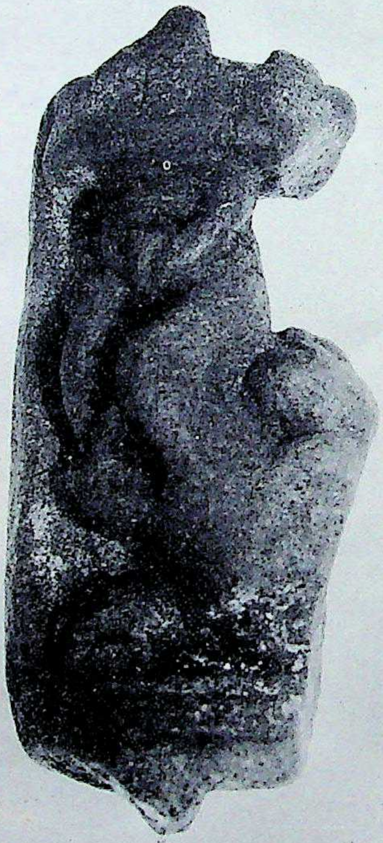


Fig. 5. A *Vyāla*

SHAIKH MUBARAK OF NAGOR (1505-1593 A.D.)

A.K. Sharma

Shaikh Mubarak was the worthy father of Abul Fazl, a great historian, and Faizi, a great poet of the reign of Akbar. He was one of the learned men and 'shaikhs' of the sixteenth century A.D. Badauni, a contemporary historian who was also a severe critic of Shaikh Mubarak, was of the opinion that "he (Mubarak) was one of the great sages of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time for his piety, devotion, and trust in God."[1]

Shaikh Mubarak was the son of Shaikh Khazr, who belonged to the Quraish, the tribe of Prophet Muhammad. Abul Fazl tells that his ancestors had their original home in Yemen, but the latter settled in Siwistan. In the sixteenth century, Sheikh Khizr, left Sind and migrated to Nagor (Rajasthan).

Shaikh Mubarak was born in 1505 at Nagor. He was lucky in the sense that before his birth several children were born to Shaikh Khizr but none could survive. Thus the newly born was named 'Mubarak', which means blessed. He was named as such with the hope that he might survive. Shaikh Mubarak was yet an infant when his father passed away. Therefore, he started his life struggle with the blessings of his mother. From the very early days, Shaikh Mubarak had a natural love for learning. Before crossing the age of 14, he had studied many text books of traditional learning and also read the available literature related to different sciences. It reveals that Mubarak had a curiosity for studying different branches of knowledge. Though he had to pass through many difficult situations in the process of attaining education, he faced them boldly and travelled widely for the purpose. He got his education from the eminent scholars and mystics of the age. He was the disciple of Shaikh Atam, through whose instruction he increased his interior thirst for the realization of truth.[2] In the reign of Sikander Lodi, he received instruction under Shaikh Salar of Nagor who had studied in Iran and Turan.[3] Shaikh Fayyazi of Bakhara,[4] Ubaydullah,[5] & Abul Fazl Gazruni,[6] were the other noted teachers of Shaikh Mubarak under whom he studied at Ahmadabad and Mawlana Imad of Laristan.. Mubarak also attended the school of Maulana Humamuddin Gulbari who was proficient in drawing horoscopes. It was at Ahmadabad that Shaikh Mubarak came in contact with Shaikh Umar of Thatta[7] and heard his lectures on theology. His studies at Ahmadabad were many sided which helped him in developing objective attitude towards contemporary intellectual and religious movements. Occasionally, he also came in contact with many doctors of Shattari, Tayfuri, Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi orders. He was greatly benefitted by their lectures. He profoundly studied different philosophies of muslim thought and law and as a result thereof, he received high diploma for different branches of learning. Abul Fazl tells that his father also found the company of many accomplished and distinguished doctors who enriched his knowledge manifold. Besides, many doctors of physics and ontology also honoured him.[8]

It seems that till the year 1543 A.D., Shaikh Mubarak remained busy in attaining perfection in different branches of knowledge especially in secular, philosophical and rational sciences. Theology, Metaphysics, Ontology, Astrology, Physics were the subjects in which he took special interest. But the main emphasis was laid on the study of theology. Thus massive learning turned him into a free and independent thinker.

At the age of thirty eight, he reached Agra and married a girl of Quraish family, distinguished for wisdom and virtue. Faizi and Abul Fazl were also born to them at Agra.

Shaikh Mubarak spent good number of years in teaching profession. Facts reveal that he taught for about fifty years in Agra.[9] Basically, he set up himself as a public teacher there. A notable characteristic of his teaching career was that he did not like and encourage the practice of going to the houses of nobles in order to impart them individual instruction. It seems that he wanted to maintain the dignity of teaching profession. He taught Akbar,[10] Badauni[11], Faizi and Abul Fazl in their primary stage of learning. Abul Fazl also mentions that "when learning was regarded with honour the distinguished of the day were his disciples and the number of his lectures were in full attendance and my father, according to his custom, denounced all evil habits and exhorted his friends and well wishers to avoid them."[12] Another remarkable thing which needs to be mentioned here is that Mubarak, generally used to impart education to only keen, curious and serious scholars. His usual method of teaching was, delivering lectures to the group of pupils. But it seems that he also encouraged the practice of group-discussions and debates. Badauni narrates that "he was always employed in giving religious instruction and was well versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning, but specially in the theology of the sufis, and unlike most other learned men of India, he practised their system thoroughly. He also had shatibi by heart, and used to give instruction in law of inheritance. He also had by heart the glorious Quran, according to each of the ten methods of reading it."[13]

Shaikh Mubarak was also one of the close associates and religious advisers to Akbar. He helped Akbar in providing possible solutions to solve the knotty religious and political problems. There was also a time when Akbar was feeling insecure and was under pressure of the orthodox religious leaders. Abdun Nabi, the Sadr and Makhdumul Mulk, the Qazi were the most dominant and influential leaders of this group. They were creating serious problems for Akbar, especially in the religious, economic and political matters of the State. Akbar could not tolerate all this. So, keeping in view the development of such critical conditions, Akbar fully made use of his commonsense and sagacity and thought it fit to utilize the services of this intelligent and farsighted l, Mubarak. The prevailing circumstances revealed that Akbar wanted to remove and reduce the influence and intervention of the orthodox section in the state affairs. Moreover, Akbar also wanted to work independently. So, at this juncture, Shaikh Mubarak along with his two wise sons, Faizi and Fazl came to his rescue. The trio showed an excellent example of loyality and confidence. Their advice in religious and political affairs proved very useful in toning up Akbar's administration on desirable lines. It was the result of combined efforts of Shaikh Mubarak and Faizi and their extensive learning of theology and philosophy which enabled them in preparing and presenting a classical document called 'Mahzar' in 1579 for the benefit of Akbar. It was this declaration which started a new era in the political life of Akbar. In this document they stated that according to the Islamic laws if there was a difference of opinion among jurists, the muslim ruler had the authority to choose any one suitable view, provided it did not go against the Holy Quran and the Traditions. It was a brief but important document, the arguments of which were fully supported by quotations from the Quran and Traditions of the Prophet.

In the year 1593 A.D., Shaikh Mubarak passed away at the age of 88 in Lahore. Shaikh's elder son, Faizi declared him the 'Pride of Perfection'.[14] and Badauni, called him 'The Perfect Shaikh.'[15]

FOOTNOTES

1. Al-Badauni, *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh*, Eng. trans. (Vol. III) Sir Wolesely Haig, Patna (reprint), 1973, p. 70, hereafter cited as *MT*, III.

2. Abul Fazl Allami, *Ain-I-Akbari,* Vol. III, Eng. Trans. Colonel H.S. Garrett, New Delhi (reprint), 1978, p. 481—hereafter cited as *Ain,* III.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 481.
4. *Ibid*
5. *Ibid.,* p. 482.
6. S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India, London,* 1969, p. 153 and *Ain.* I, pp. 548-49.
7. *Ain.* III, p. 485.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 484.
9. Nazamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-I-Akbari,* Vol. II, Eng. Trans. by B. De Calcutta, 1936, p. 702.
10. MT, III, p. 131. (It seems that the term teacher has been used by Badauni in place of his guide or adviser).
11. Al-Badauni, *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh,* Vol. II, Eng. Trans. W.H. Lowe, Patna (reprint), 1973, p. 26. Hereafter cited as *MT,* II.
12. *Ain.* III, p. 494.
13. *MT.* III, p. 119.
14. *MT.* II, p. 402.
15. *Ibid.*

SECTION-III

Views and Reviews

Lille Madanjit	..	*Indian Poetics and Western Thought* ed. M.S. Kusḥwaha, Argo Publishing House, Lucknow 1988. 266 pp.
Baldev Singh Karir	..	Jay K. Johnson & Carol A. Morrow, eds. 1987. THE ORGANIZATION OF CORE TECHNOLOGY, Boulder and London : Westview Press, 380 pp.

BOOK REVIEWS

Indian Poetics and Western Thoughts ed. M.S. Kushwaha, Argo Publishing House, Lucknow, 1988, 266 pp.

Lille Madanjit

The creative process, in the last analysis, is a mysterious process. Yet one cannot altogether dispense with critical theory on that account. No theory — Eastern or Western — can "explain away" the work of art, but partial illumination is certainly possible. The need for a plurality of approach is thus self-evident. Let new windows open on the dark, mysterious thing called artistic creation so that even if full revelation is not possible, there is at least plenty of fresh air.

Theorists of literature have in the past garnered various conceptual frameworks (Greek, Senecan, Shakespearean) to deduce the operative principles of literature. To be able to bring to light Indian aesthetic principles, setting them beside western art theories, is a commendable effort at opening new windows. This book does the job fairly successfully.

Art being universal Eastern theories should prove as useful as those we are already familiar with, and there is an underlying similarity in many pronouncements. Since literature deals with words, language plays an important role. The literariness involved in creative works must follow the rules of grammar and syntax as peculiar to each language. Therefore this aspect must remain peculiar to each language, although the embellishments of language have a common importance. Irony, paradox, punning, metaphor are devices which are universal. The tension between denotation and connotation is exploited by every artist. Language is stretched and altered by the perception of the artists be they in the east or the west, therefore the elements and structures of language will remain to be manipulated by discerning minds.

Those Indians who do their creative writing in English will find Indian poetics rewarding, specially when they are dealing with themes that are Indian. Although the Indian and Western mind differ yet the fundamental issues evoked are the same. T.S. Eliot has rightly given seminal importance to critical labour involved in creative writing, and therefore any attempt at elucidating Indian poetics would be of value per se.

Indian Poetics and Western Thought contains essays which were needed for the benefit of all those who are interested in Literature and specially those particularly interested in literary theory. There seems to be an imperceptible movement towards a co-mingling of Eastern and Western cultures and an interfusion of aesthetics. Indian Poetics date back to fourth century B.C. and if those who are interested in Western aesthetics familiarise themselves with Oriental dicta, the gain will be theirs.

In the first and seminal essay in this book, Dr. Srinivas Iyengar envisages a Universal Aesthetics forging together Mimesis and Rasa theory and Katharsis and Dhavni theory, at the same time pointing out that "there is one Western concept—that of the sublime—to which there seems to be no Indian parallel." But the most significant difference pointed out is that in Aristotle's Poetics there are no spiritual dimensions. This has far reaching repercussions. For example death to the Western mind is something final, whereas according to the Eastern metaphysics it is only the body that gets annihilated; the soul continues to start another process of living. This is bound to affect our notion of tragedy. A corollory to this is the concept of time which again becomes relevant in our response to art. Mr. Pannikar in his essay puts it thus, "Each individual is a self-contained entity; hence death is a finality. This notion lies at the back of western tragedy. In Indian drama, there is neither comedy nor tragedy in the western sense, because death is seen only as a passage to another form of existence."

Mr. Dhavale in his essay, "Indian Poetics and Modern Hermenentics" brings out the importance of the author, context, social milieu and language which would ultimately imply a dichotomy in Eastern and Western aesthetics, albeit having some meeting grounds too.

Mr. Kantak points out how in Aristotle and western dramatic mode it is 'action' which has primacy, whereas Bharat gives primacy to *Rasa* which would roughly correspond to 'sentiment' implying a deep schism in the Eastern and Western aesthetics.

For those who would like to familiarise themselves with Rasa-Dhvani theories, Krishna Rayan's essay is of immense value. Mr. V.K. Chari follows up these concepts with a further clarification and his essay is of great importance.

Mr. Shukla cites T.S. Eliot and brings out the fact that it is only one permanent emotion (out of nine) which ought to permeate the work of art.

Mr. Gokak shows the technicalities such as Attitude, Thought, Theme, Imagery, Rhythm, Language, which are like concentric circles around the centre which is the poet's vision.

Mr. Pathak and Mr. Subbaiah elucidate the importance of language, the centrality of metaphor and paradox.

Mr. Kapil Kapoor rightly lays stress on "literariness" of a work. "It is this conception of literary language as referentially figurative, that makes Alankara theory so interesting for the contemporary Western theory of Metaphor . . . . 'Literariness of the literary discourse then consists in the suggestiveness of its meaning which is a matter not just of words but of the complex interaction of different factors in the communication situation. This meaning has to be constructed through a proper exegesis.

Mr. Mohan Thampi shows the relevance and universality of Western Aesthetic theories, the obliteration of Individual ego involved in the creative process. "As long as our private interests agitate our mind there will be craving for possession which is inimical to the contemplative mood."

Mr. Kushwaha takes up 'Imitation' with all its ramifications. The venerated word is the *sine qua non* of all art. Mr. Sisir Kumar Ghosh explains how "the idea of the creative delight of the free spirit has often been mistranslated in Western thought as Pleasure. The misunderstanding is due to—and thus is the second aspect of the insight—an inability to distinguish between two levels of being, the substitution of the profundities of soul—culture by the superficialities of a sensate culture, in brief, the difference between the secular and the spiritual." The excellent article on Hamlet by Mr. Sen Gupta remains a little on the periphery of the main issues of poetics.

Mr. Kushwaha is to be congratulated for the important attempt and a book of this type was sorely needed by all those who are immersed in literature and literary theory. All the essays are of value, exploring some new facet, throwing light on points of divergence and similarity, upgrading old and relevant theories and setting them in the light of contemporary findings.

Jay K. Johnson & Carol A. Morrow, eds. 1987. THE ORGANIZATION OF CORE TECHNOLOGY, Boulder and London : Westview Press, 380 pp.

Baldev Singh Karir

The book under reference contributes to the idea that lithic tools and debris are the most consistently preserved residues of extinct cultural systems.

The book primarily comprises the papers which were originally invited for presentation at a symposium on Core technology which was to have been organised under the auspices of the Society for American Archaeology. But somehow the symposium could not be held and the editors took the initiative to collect the papers and present them in a book form. A few authors could not submit papers by the deadline and as such have not been included. However, some papers that were not part of the proposed symposium were included. In all, it contains eleven papers by renowned authors of American prehistory and range in time from the Palaeoindian through the Contact period and in complexity from the Archaic hunters and gatherers of the Eastern Woodlands to the sophisticated Chiefdoms of Mesoamerica.

It is an excellent collection of research work particularly of North American lithic studies. This work deals with the development of the basic concept of lithic technology and develops it into a viable research tool. Mainly the contributors discuss Core/Blade technology from all angles including less refined/basic core technologies. They have examined the lithic systems from hunter-gatherer to societies of early states in terms of organizational alternatives of core technology. The work allows the reader to examine social interaction, exchange, mobility and conservation of time, resources, and energy in the evolutionary perspectives.

The areas of research converge to present a general explanation of core technology in the New World, that is, the production of flakes or blades for tools. In his introduction, Johnson summarises salient features of individual papers and concludes with an attempt to synthesize the ideas which they present.

The very first paper deals with diffusion and innovation from the perspective of Wedge Shaped Cores in Alaska and Japan. The author discusses the wedge shaped microblade cores, which is one of the oldest and complex prepared core traditions in the New World. The author examines the likelihood of Old World origin and in doing so provides a detailed description of the technology and a comprehensive review of the ways in which diffusion can be differentiated from independent invention.

The next four papers deal with the core and blade technology of Woodland area. In these papers a detailed study of the technological, functional (including social function), spatial aspects and diversity of tool kit has been excellently dealt with. In addition to this, metric analysis has also been carried out to distinguish cores and blades from different lithic material. Environmental setting of the sites under which these traditions flourished has also been studied. It is argued that blade technology is not a response to functional requirements or raw material constraints, but rather a conscious choice of a specific style of tool manufacture which reflects a form of regional identification. This has been clearly exhibited by the technological (Stylistic) differences attributable to blades traded into a site versus blades which are locally produced.

Next two papers deal with the Mississipian period specifically chipped stone-industries which were based on particular type of chert. Thus by identifying specific raw materials and their sources, a spatial dimension can be added to the technological analysis, and broader issues such as mobility and exchange can be addressed. Amorphous cores which were missed earlier, it appears now that this may be the predominant technology at many Mississipian sites particularly in the Southeast. A shift from biface and increasing dominance of simple flake tools (expedient technology) is closely related to decreasing residential mobility. Second paper is devoted particularly to blade and microlithic technology. Different types of cores have been classified for the fabrication of blades. It is interesting to note that core to biface ratio is considerably higher in the source area assemblages with a marked drop off immediately outside the source area.

Then comes a paper which deals with the significance of microblade industry from the coastal California, which is quite different from the Mississippi alluvial valley in terms of environment and subsistence technology. The technology reflects functional needs and responds to change in function.

Next paper focusses on the nature and role of cores and core technology within the lithic systems of Colha and other areas in northern Belize (South America). The authors review major shifts in core technology on the basis of material ranging from Archaic through the Postclassic in an effort to relate stone tool production strategies to one of the most dynamic culture sequences in the New World. Characteristic features of various tool production techniques have been illustrated with the help of lucid diagrams.

Then there is a paper which argues that the spread of blade technology in Mesoamerica was due to political processes. Production of blade requires planning, proper tools, and sustained concentration and specialization. Adoption of blade technology clearly would not have been uniform across a changing sociopolitical landscape because a minimal level of socio-political complexity was required. This has been illustrated by examples from tribal studies. Adoption of blade technology was politically motivated, and chiefs sponsored it in order to consolidate their own authority. Since chiefs controlled the trade and distribution of blade cores and blades they increased their wealth and power by selling them, the author argues.

Expedient core technology was wide spread in North America in the recent past. But this shift of expedient core technology should not be taken as a case of "devolution or degeneration", since it represents a change from complex to simple technology, skilled to unskilled workmanship, and symmetrical to crude and formless tools. In the concluding chapter authors highlight the importance of expedient core/tool over a formalized one. They do so by relating core-technology to mobility. If raw material is abundant and readily yields edges of adequate sharpness and durability for the task at hand, then there is no need to manufacture portable lithic tools. The point, the author makes, is that the decreased formalization of stone tools should not be viewed as some sort of "devolution" but more probably represented a strategic decision to reduce the effort invested in creating and maintaining the stone tools kit, in a context of changing environment and needs.

The collection of papers presents a stimulating reading and an insight into the lithic tool production systems in the New World. Given this provincial bias in the presentation, the ideas are worth notice by prehistoric archaeologists everywhere. In developing a cohesive approach to explaining the distribution and structure of core technologies, the papers point to six major variables which according to Johnson, must be evaluated in concert in order to explain tool production systems. These are raw material availability, trajectory flexibility, mobility, subsistence diversity, intended function, and social organization. Also to be noted is the presence of two basically different kinds of core technology : amorphous and prepared. Amorphous core technologies conserve tool production time and maintain a maximum number of trajectory options at the expense of raw material to derive a broad array of cutting edges and angles, and thus are ideal for subsistence systems based on diversified resources in an area where raw material is abundant. In areas where raw material resources are not common, more conservative technologies, like bifacial, were used. Prepared cores are ideally suited for manufacturing standard products.

A map indicating the comparative positions of various archaeological sites discussed in the papers would have, however, added to the appreciation of the contents of the volume by archaeologists particularly those from the Old World.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Giles Mitchell is Professor of English at the University of North Texas. His research speciality is psychoanalytic criticism. At present, he is writing a series of essays on narcissism and violence in Literature One, one *Lord Jim,* has been published in *Conradiana* and another, on *Madame Bovary,* has been published in *American Imago.*

Bhim S. Dahiya is Professor and Chairman, Department of English, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. Professor Dahiya is a Hemingway scholar of repute. He has published five books and more than a dozen research articles on various aspects of contemporary American Literature.

Asha S. Kanwar is a Reader in English at the Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi. Dr. Kanwar has a Ph.D. from the University of Sussex. Her major area of interest is contemporary British Fiction and criticism.

Alur Janaki Ram is Chairman, Department of English, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur. He is the author of two books on Shakespeare; and Guest Editor of the special Number of *Rajasthan University Studies in English* on Australian Literature.

Charu Verma is a Research Scholar in English at Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.

Anil Bisht is a Lecturer in English in Kumaun University Naini Tal. She has worked on Philip Larkin for her Doctoral Thesis.

Kshamanidhi Mishra teaches English at Nayagarh College, Nayagarh, Puri. His major area of interest is contemporary drama.

Tutun Mukherjee teaches English at Osmania University, Hyderabad. Dr. Mukherjee has worked extensively on theories in Literary Criticism. Her Ph.D. thesis was on the Chicago Critics.

Shrawan K. Sharma is a Lecturer in English at G.K. University, Hardwar. His Ph.D. thesis is on 'Alienation in the Poetry of Mathew Arnold.'

Kailash S. Aggarwal is an Assistant Professor of English at University of Manipur, Imphal. His area of specialisation is Language and Communication. He has published widely in this area.

Rahul Khanna is working on the problems of English language teaching.

Usha Bande is a lecturer in English in Govt. College for Girls, Shimla. She has recently published a book on the novels of Anita Desai. She is currently working on William Golding.

Amrit Lal Mehta is Chairman, Department of German, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Ashutosh Angiras is a Lecturer in Sanskrit in S.D. College at Ambala Cantt. His Ph.D. thesis is on *A Critical and Comparative study of Pratyabhijñā and Pratibha|in Trika System of Indian Philosophy.*

Devendra Handa is Chairman, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh and a frequent contributor to Research Bulletin (Arts).

Arjan Dass Malik belongs to the Indian Administrative Service. He is at present posted as Director Higher Education, Archaeology and Archives, Haryana and Joint Secretary to Haryana Govt. Archaeology and Archives Department. Mr. Malik is the author of two books.

Lalman is on the faculty of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Arun Kumar Sharma is working on his Ph.D. on 'Prominent Teachers and Teaching Patterns during the reign of Akbar.'

Lille Madanjit is Reader in English, Department of English, Directorate of Correspondence Courses, Panjab University, Chandigarh. Dr. Madanjit is currently working on Indian Poetics and English Literature.

Baldev Singh Karir is a Lecturer in Anthropology, Panjab University, Chandigarh. Dr. Karir published a book entitled "Geomorphology and Stone Age Culture of North Western India" in 1985.

07996 2
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्व

Compiled
1999-2000